



THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN OF WORCESTER,
PREVIOUSLY ASSIGNED TO FLORENCE OF WORCESTER.

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In my analysis of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle¹ I have arrived at a point where it is necessary to examine another work very closely connected with the chronicle and in many parts almost a literal translation of that document. It has been universally treated as one of the prime authorities for our history, and in date it heads the list of our post-Conquest Latin chronicles. Notwithstanding this it has never been properly edited, and therefore, apart from its interest as an illustration of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, I have thought it right to analyse its contents in detail, and I hope the laborious work this has entailed may result in a corresponding advantage to those engaged in writing our early history.

The work was first published in 1592 by the Hon. William Howard from manuscripts in the possession of Lord William Howard of Naworth. The two manuscripts used by him are now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. One is a small quarto written on vellum in the thirteenth century, in two different hands, one ending in the year 1131, and the other in the year 1137. Like all other copies it contains certain epitomes of local history and lists and genealogies prefixed to the chronicle itself, but there is no narrative mixed with the leaves of the manuscript. It also contains certain discussions on chronology which were omitted by Howard.² The other manuscript is a duodecimo written in various hands, described as a compilation from different authors, among others from the work we are discussing. It is continued till the year 1141 where it ends mutilated. It has also the lists and genealogies prefixed as in other manuscripts. This edition of Howard's was reprinted at Frankfurt in

¹ See *A.ŷ.* lxi, 312-70.

² See *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pref. Hardy, *Cat.* ii, 130, note 1.

1601 but with many faults¹; otherwise it was not again printed till the year 1848, when a portion of it forms part of Petrie's *Monumenta Historica Britannica*.

For his text Petrie collated what is doubtless the best existing manuscript and which was not known to Howard. It is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford,² and formerly belonged to the church at Worcester. It dates from about the middle of the twelfth century, and is written in one hand till near the conclusion. It ends mutilated in 1140. In the continuation (after 1129) are some additions in the margin by a monk of Worcester, chiefly about visions and marvellous tales. It also omits several portions of the text which are in another hand in the margin: some of them come from William of Malmesbury.³ Petrie cites this as MS. A.

Besides MS. A, Petrie also collated another manuscript which is in the Lambeth library, number 42, a large folio, very finely written in double columns in a hand of the latter part of the twelfth century, containing the continuation ending in 1131: it agrees with the copy last cited in most of its variations from Howard's printed text. It has some notices of Abingdon abbey, and doubtless came from there.

Petrie also examined a manuscript in the Bodleian (no. 297) also of the twelfth century and also ending in 1131. It incorporates the marginal notes in MS. A with a number of marginalia of its own. Its text seems to be a reproduction of the Corpus Christi manuscript above cited. It contains notices of charters connected with Bury, and probably came from there.

At Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is another manuscript of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century (no. 92) which contains the so-called Florence down to 1131 with another continuation down to 1295. It incorporates in its text most of the additions of the manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as well as of the Lambeth copy, and would seem to have been copied from the Bodleian manuscript. It formerly belonged to Peterborough.

At Magdalen College, Oxford, there is a manuscript

¹ *M.H.B.* 85.

² MS. no. 157, fol. 76.

³ *M.H.B.* 86.

in small folio of the thirteenth century (no. 36) containing a transcript from 1002 to 1131 with some additions and a continuation to 1226.

Lastly the Cotton MS. Vitellius E. xiii, which is of the thirteenth century, contains the so-called Florence with a continuation to 1225. It ends abruptly and has been much damaged by fire.¹

A second manuscript (no. 185) in the same library also contains the continuation to 1225.

Returning to Petrie's edition of the so-called Florence we must remember that his theory of editing manuscripts was not that now generally accepted as the best. Although the text he actually published was an accurate transcript of those parts of the manuscripts which he used, he held that inasmuch as mediaeval writers were in the habit of copying largely from each other he was justified in cutting out of his edition what he deemed were iterations containing no new fact or observation or what was a mere abridgment either by extract or compression or in suppressing some solecisms in the style. This method of editing left much to the personal equation of the editor and, as we recognise now, often excluded matter which was necessary for tracing the sources of an author or the history of his text.

Petrie's famous volume again only professed to give the materials for English history down to the year 1066, so that all the matter in the manuscripts of the so-called Florence after that day was entirely left out by him. So were all the entries in the work before the year 450. He also omitted all the passages which the so-called Florence had copied from Marianus Scotus between 450 and 1000, though between the years 1000 and 1066 these passages are duly given. All this will show how inadequate Petrie's edition is, when measured by modern standards. Apart from these drawbacks the text was excellently edited with collations from the then accessible manuscripts.

In 1849, shortly after the appearance of Petrie's great volume, the English Historical Society brought out an edition of the so-called Florence edited by B. Thorpe. As far as the year 1066 it is a transcript of the edition of Petrie, whom Thorpe also followed in omitting all the

¹ Hardy, *Cat.* ii, 130.

matter before the year 450, without drawing attention to this fact. However, he gives the rest of the work from the year 1066 with its continuation down to 1295 in a complete form. It is clear therefore that Thorpe's edition is also very inadequate.

Since then there has not appeared any critical edition of this work which was described by Thorpe himself as the principal source of early English history (next to the Ecclesiastical History of Bede and the Saxon Chronicle). It is especially notable and perhaps even scandalous that the work was not included in the very long list of chronicles and memorials of English history published by the Master of the Rolls.

Let us now turn to the contents of the work. It is professedly in large part a compilation and it was formed in a curious way. The basis of the work was a copy of the chronicle of Marianus Scotus in which the compiler in general faithfully follows the earlier writer and inserts a series of entries from other sources and from tradition. As the work of Marianus forms such a large part of that we are discussing it will be profitable to describe it shortly here. He was, like many other learned men of his time, an Irish Scot and was born in Ireland in 1028. This appears from a gloss of his own inserted in his chronicle under the year 1028, where we read 'Ego miser Marianus in peccatis fui in hoc anno natus.' His Irish name was Moelbrig.¹

In 1056 he left Ireland for Germany, where he entered the Irish monastery of St. Martin at Cologne and there adopted the name of Marianus. Two years later he went to Fulda, and in 1059, at the instance of the archbishop of Mainz, he paid a visit to Wirceburg (Würzburg) where he was ordained priest. Returning to Fulda he joined the brotherhood as a professed monk (*inclusus*) and there remained ten years. In 1069, by order of the archbishop, he became a recluse in the monastery of St. Alban at Mainz and there died in 1082 or 1083. He was eventually buried in the monastery of St. Martin at Fulda above named.²

Ordericus Vitalis, the famous church historian, in

¹ See Marianus sub an.

² See Migne, *Patrologia*, Ser. Lat. lib. 148, p. 606.

describing the work of Marianus, says that 'following to the best of his means Eusebius of Caesarea, St. Jerome and other historians . . . after carefully consulting both ancient and modern writers he published his Chronography in which, beginning with the Creation and pursuing his enquiries through the books of the Old and New Testament and the Greek and Roman histories, he collected all that was important, fixing the chronology through the series of kings and consuls, which he continued to the day of his death.'¹ His so-called *Chronicon Universale* is really a kind of chronography, and he was in fact styled Marianus Chronographus by some of his successors. On the supposition that the Dionysiac era of the birth of Christ was fixed too late by 22 years, Marianus added a double chronology to his work, one which he denominates 'secundum Evangelium' and the other 'secundum Dionysium,' together with tables and arguments in support of his conclusion. This is no longer held to be tenable and was repudiated even so early as the time of William of Malmesbury. When the various printed texts of the so-called Florence were published, that of Marianus had not been critically edited and their authors had not the advantage of consulting that of Waitz.²

Marianus derived his materials from a great number of sources, but the only ones which are of any value for us are those dealing with the affairs of Britain. Among them Bede is of course the chief. He does not seem to have known his *Historia Ecclesiastica* but quotes from his so-called *Chronicle* and his purely chronological and theological works, e.g. those entitled *de Ratione temporum* and *de Temporibus*, his commentaries on Daniel, the evangelists and the Acts of the apostles, and lastly his *Martyrologium*. From Bede he derives all his English entries down to the time of the latter's death. In addition to these English notices he also has an interesting series of Irish ones which have been traced to the 'tripartite life' of St. Patrick, and to that of St. Brigit. A more important group is written partly in Latin and partly in Irish and is probably derived from the chronicle of his famous contemporary the Irish annalist Tighernac. To these

¹ op. cit. lib. iii, ch. 15.

² See Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* v, 481; Migne, op. cit. lib. 148, p. 162, etc.

he adds a few notes about continental Irishmen, especially those living in the Scotie monastery of St. Alban at Mainz, doubtless derived from its records. It is curious to find some passages written in Irish in the text of Marianus and affording well-attested specimens of the language as it was when he wrote. Waitz in his edition¹ follows the copy in the Vatican, which was apparently part of the spoils of the sack of Mainz by Gustavus Adolphus in the 'Thirty Years' War, and was afterwards presented by queen Christina to the pope. That it came from Mainz appears from the note which it contains, 'iste liber pertinet ad librariam S. Martini Moguntiaci, 1479.' Waitz looked upon this manuscript as the author's autograph, but this can hardly be, since it is said in a note to the last complete sentence in the original part of the writing, 'per eandem manum statim additum est in inferiori fol. 166 parte: obiit Marianus inclusus: postea lineae ductae anni scripti et brevis continuatio addita est.'² The Vatican manuscript is in an Irish script and was doubtless written by an Irish companion of Marianus, who acted as his amanuensis, probably from his dictation or from his rough draft. The same secretary also wrote a number of marginal notes which occur in the same script as the text, while a number of other marginalia are in a second hand but probably also directly dictated by our chronicler.

A second edition of the chronicle is in the Cottonian library (Nero, C. v.). It omits a good many of the notices in the former manuscript and inserts others relating to the affairs of St. Alban's monastery at Mainz.

The first and second books of the Chronography of Marianus deal with the world's chronology to the birth of Christ. These are of no interest to us in our present quest, although they were duly followed by the so-called Florence in his chronicle, and constitute his third book. The third book of Marianus begins with the birth of Christ. From that event we have attached to each annal the year according to the Dionysiac calculation with the corresponding date of Jerome's reckoning. These are also given by the so-called Florence. The dates are further fixed by the naming of the consuls, in which the latter again

¹ See Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scrip.* v, 481.

² Migne, *op. cit.* 794, note 595.

follows suit, as he also does with the obits of the emperors and the names of their several successors. The recurrence of the solar cycle is again duly mentioned in the margin and it occurs in and is copied by the so-called Florence. The same again is the case with the obits of the popes and the names of their successors. For these latter entries the so-called Florence apparently also used the *Liber Pontificalis* which he quotes as the *Gesta Pontificum*.¹

Let us now turn to the work that passes by the name of Florence of Worcester. Before we analyse its text we must say something about its supposed author. In the first place the chronicle has no heading with the author's name, and is merely entitled *Chronica ex Chronicis*.

The ecclesiastical history of Ordericus Vitalis, or Ordericus Anglicanus as he was otherwise known, was written at various times from 1123 to 1141. In the course of its composition he visited England and, *inter alia*, went to Worcester, near which the abbey of Saint-Evrault, of which he was an inmate, had some property. He had himself been in the service of the earls of Shrewsbury. At Worcester he was shown what is generally believed to be the work which we are now discussing, and it is the first time it is anywhere mentioned. He refers to it in the fifteenth chapter of the third book of his own history where, after belauding the works of William of Poitiers and Guy of Amiens, he goes on to say :

'John of Worcester, an Englishman and a monk from his boyhood, of remarkable character and learning, in his additions to the chronicles of Marianus Scotus gives a faithful account of king William and of the matters which occurred in his reign and in those of his sons William Rufus and Henry until the present day.'

After some sentences about Marianus, Orderic continues :

'John of Worcester who followed him (i.e. Marianus) recorded the events of nearly a century and by the order of the venerable Wulfstan, bishop and monk, appended his continuation to the chronicle of Marianus in which he usefully and compendiously related many things about the Romans, the Franks, the Alemans (i.e. Germans) and other nations. Accordingly these chronicles include the whole series of the Hebrew judges, kings and high-priests from Moses to the destruction of Jerusalem in the reigns of Titus and Vespasian.' . . . 'The chronicles also give the names of all the Roman consuls and dictators, emperors and pontiffs, as well as of all the kings of

¹ vide sub an. A.D. 96.

England who reigned from the time that Hengist and Horsa made war on Vortigern, king of Britain, to the great injury of the Britons. To these the chronicles add the bishops who governed the English church from the time when pope Gregory commissioned Augustine and Mellitus and other monks to preach the word of God in England.'

Orderic then goes on to describe the chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours, and adds:

'I have been anxious to direct attention to these works in order that inquiring readers may consult them for themselves, offering as they do a rich harvest of instruction, though they are difficult to meet with. For being written by modern authors they have not as yet got into general circulation. *One of these chronicles* [doubtless he means that which we are discussing] *I met with at Worcester in England*, the other [probably that of Sigebert is meant] *at Cambray in Lorraine*.'

In the narrative just quoted the description of the book which Orderic says was written by John of Worcester and which he says he saw at Worcester answers precisely to the chronicle usually assigned to Florence. Like it, it was based on Marianus Scotus; like it, it contained notices of the early Saxon kings and the like, while on the other hand the work generally regarded as that of Florence is the only Latin chronicle which we can connect with Worcester at all. It is therefore very remarkable that Orderic nowhere mentions Florence at all and attributes the work to John.

The notion that the work was written by Florence, which has been so generally accepted, is based on one small and very fragile piece of evidence only, namely, a paragraph contained in the *Chronica ex Chronicis* in the year 1118, where we read:

Nonis Iulii obiit Dominus Florentius, Wigorniensis monachus. Hujus subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, praeeminet cunctis haec chronicarum chronica.

Corpus terra tegit, spiritus astra petit

quo cernendo Deum cum sanctis regnet in aevum. Amen.

This does not say that Florence wrote the chronicle, but that 'his deep skill and industry had rendered the chronicle of chronicles pre-eminent over others.'

There are other reasons that support Orderic's statement. While the death of Florence is mentioned in the year 1117 in the chronicle generally attributed to him there is no break whatever in the handwriting in the extant manuscripts till the year 1131, and the narrative passes over the year 1117 and goes on to 1131 in perfectly con-

tinuous style, and the majority of them end with that year ; nor is there any break in the style or method of composition. I have small doubt that by the phrase above quoted from the text of the book itself it is merely meant that the Florence, whose obit is there mentioned, collected considerable materials for the work in question, but that the compiler of the work itself was some one else whose work went on to 1131.

There is literally not a tittle of evidence beside this ambiguous phrase in favour of the work having been written by Florence, to set against the positive statement of Orderic, who was a very responsible writer and lived himself some time in the monastery at Worcester, saw the book, and must have known the John to whom he refers it.

Again, while Florence's name occurs only in an ambiguous sentence in the work, John's name is directly associated in the text itself with one portion of it. Thus in the year 1138 there is an entry where a certain John speaks of himself when describing a part of the city of Hereford lying beyond the Wye. In this he says :

'I omit saying anything of the bloodshed of many others above mentioned, for I am ignorant on this point, but this I pray, that what Christian man soever will rest in perfect peace may correct these things as he reads, if John offends in aught.'

(Nam ignoro, hoc tamen oro,

Quisquis Christicola sub summa pace quiescet

Corrigat ista legens offendit si qua Johannes.)

This passage occurs only, it is true, in the *Corpus Christi* manuscript at Oxford (157, fol. 567), but it is quite probable that this was the original autograph of the work. It is at all events a twelfth-century manuscript and formerly belonged, as has been said already, to the church at Worcester.¹ Some of those who have attributed the compilation of the chronicle as far as the year 1117 to Florence have in fact attributed the portion of the work after the year 1117 to John on the strength of the verses just quoted.

An additional argument may be derived from the fact that in the portion of the chronicle generally attributed to John we find little shreds of poetry occasionally

¹ Hardy, *Cat. ii*, 129 and 130, note.

inserted which have led Thorpe in his edition to speak of him as being an historian and poet. It is significant that one of these pieces occurs as early as 1113, four years before the death of Florence. It may be that the four lines about St. Wilfrid in the year 709 are also from his pen. It must be further remembered that Orderic expressly says that a certain John wrote the lives and doings of the two Williams; that is, was responsible for the work from 1066, J. W. having died only in 1117.

It seems to me that the evidence in favour of John and not Florence having been the author of the chronicle is so great that the burden of proof to the contrary must be laid on those who oppose it. How then are we to explain the phrase in the work we are discussing about Florence having done much to make the work what it is. I have small doubt that it means that Florence collected part of the materials for the work which was afterwards put together by John. Nay more, it seems to me that we have a portion of Florence's own work (probably in the shape in which he left it) in the appendices which in the printed text are placed at the end, but in the manuscripts at the beginning, of the work, containing the list of popes, of English bishops under their sees, the pedigrees of the rulers of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the epitomes of the annals of the same kingdoms, information which is repeated in the body of the work in more orderly fashion. This view again is confirmed by the fact that there are numerous discrepancies between the statements in the text and those in the appendices. I shall take it for granted, therefore, that the compiler of the *Chronica ex Chronicis* was John of Worcester and shall refer to him by his initials J. W. and similarly use M. Sc. as an epitome of the name of Marianus, and I shall take it for granted that the first edition of the work was published in 1131 when the older manuscripts have their first break.

It is not improbable that the motive for writing such a work at this time was the occurrence of a great fire at Worcester in 1113 when, according to the author's own words :

civitas Wigorniae cum principali ecclesia et omnibus aliis et castello, xiii kal. Julii (19th June) feria v. igne cremata est. De monachis unus

monasterio utilissimus, cum duobus servientibus et xv de civibus, igne combusti sunt.

Within a few years of this fire a similar destruction at Peterborough, as we have argued elsewhere, led to the composition of the Peterborough copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

It is probable that in the fire of 1113 the old library at Worcester, with the documents and records of the monastery, were partially destroyed, and that the *Chronica ex Chronicis*, the first of the great Latin chronicles of England, was composed partially to fill the gap.

While J. W. follows M. Sc. very closely where he abstracts his narrative, he does not scruple to omit passages which were of slight interest to his readers. It was thus with a number of Irish entries. The first of these notices in M. Sc. relating to Ireland occurs under the year 372. It deals with the paternity and several names of Patrick. J. W. while following M. Sc. almost verbally, omits a sentence in Irish reading, 'Cothraege diambae icfogna docethartreb,' meaning Cothraige, when he was serving four households. Patrick got the name Cothraige from the story that when he was sold as a slave he was bought by four persons and had to serve four households. The whole notice has clearly come from the hymn composed in praise of St. Patrick by Fiac, bishop of Sletty in the middle of the seventh century, and from the glosses attached to it in the *Liber hymnorum* (see Stokes' *Lives of St. Patrick*, ii, 402). M. Sc. makes Conchesa, Patrick's mother, the sister of St. Martin of Tours, while Fiac's hymn makes her his relative. Marianus has other entries about Patrick in 374 and 388 which are abstracted in Stokes' work just cited (p. ii, 510), and are copied by J. W.

In 402 we have another passage about St. Patrick in M. Sc. not in J. W.:

Sanctus Patricius cum esset 30 annorum, veniens Turoniam, tonditur a sancto Martino tonsura monachica, quia servilem tonsuram antea hucusque habuit. Deinde trans Alpes ivit in occidentalem partem australem Italiae ad Germanum episcopum civitatis nomine Alenseiodorus (sic) et legit apud eum 30 annis divinam Scripturam in insula nomine Alanensis.

429. The reference to Palladius in this year is contained both in M. Sc. and also in J. W. but the latter inserts

after the word 'episcopum' the clause 'cum sancto Lupo Trecassinae urbis antistite,' which is not found in M. Sc. It is dated in 430 in A.S.C.: MSS. A, B, C and F say Palladius; MS. E says Patricius.

431. The clause this year about St. Patrick in M. Sc. is divided between the years 431 and 432 in J. W.

446. This considerable annal about the Picts and Scots in M. Sc. is in substance in J. W. He, however, does not follow M. Sc. verbatim but, as is often the case, changes the phraseology a good deal, and it is plain that he had recourse directly to the text of Bede, which was the authority followed by M. Sc. but not so closely.

In 450 J. W. has the first detailed notice of the arrival of the Saxons. This is given in a very short epitome in M. Sc. where it is dated in 452 and consists only of three lines from Bede. The much longer notice in J. W. is taken directly from Bede, and not from M. Sc. 'Beda teste' being his phrase. Bede, however, dates the passage in 449. J. W. takes it from the Ecclesiastical History, which was apparently not accessible to M. Sc. as he never quotes it. In this case the latter takes it from Bede's chronicle. Petrie and Thorpe begin their editions of Florence with the year 450.

455. In this year there is no notice of Britain in M. Sc. J. W. for the first time uses the English chronicle which was not known to M. Sc. In this year the five copies of the chronicle, A, B, C, E and F are practically alike, and it is virtually certain that D, which has a long lacuna from A.D. 189 to A.D. 693, was the same.

457. The greater part of this annal in J. W. is copied from M. Sc. A very large portion of it is from a note in the second hand in the margin, showing that the copy of M. Sc. used by J. W. contained the marginal glosses of both glossators. To this long entry Florence adds a second extract from the A.S.C. This is not from E or F, since E has a mistake in the date and F has not the second clause. A dates the entry in 457, and B, C, E and F date it in 456. It almost certainly came from D. when it was perfect.

From 458 to 464 inclusive J. W. follows M. Sc.

465. The first clause in this annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. The remainder is from the A.S.C. The five

copies of the chronicle are here alike. D when perfect no doubt agreed with them. J. W. translates the 'Walas' of the A.S.C. by 'Britonibus.'

J. W. now turns entirely to M. Sc. till the year 473, when, after taking a clause from the same author, we meet with an entry about Hengist and his son which is virtually alike in the MSS. A, B, C, E and F, and was doubtless in D, from which J. W. probably took it.

Again in 474, 475 and 476 J. W. exactly follows Marianus.

In 477, after a sentence from M. Sc. there is an extract from the chronicle in J. W. in which MSS. A, B, C and E are alike, and so doubtless was D.

From 478 to 484 J. W. follows M. Sc. exactly.

In 485 J. W. first has a passage from M. Sc. and then inserts an entry from the chronicle as it occurs in A, B, C and E, which was doubtless in D, with a gloss of his own explaining 'Mearcudes burnan' as 'rivum Mearcreadi,' and adding the words 'multos ex eis occidit et caeteros fugavit.' A.S.C. does not mention the result of the fight.

486 and 487 are from M. Sc. In 488 J. W. first condenses the two annals of 488 and 489 in M. Sc. into one, then turns to A.S.C. for the accession of Aesc to the Kentish throne. Aesc is said to have reigned twenty-four years, which is followed by J. W. E says thirty-four years, which is a mistake. J. W. doubtless followed D.

The A.S.C. does not mention Hengist in this annal and only names the succession of Aesc. J. W. adds the following phrase of his own: 'Hengistus postquam regnum Cantuariorum 34 annis strenuissime rexisset, vitae finem fecit.' This is no doubt a calculation in which a previous entry in the chronicle has been used. We then have two years entirely from M. Sc.

491. In this annal J. W. takes the foreign notice from M. Sc. From a gloss to the same writer J. W. takes a clause about St. Patrick. He says: 'Sanctus Patricius Hyberniae archiepiscopus annorum 122 beatissimo fine obiit.' He leaves out the latter part of it which runs thus: 'annorum 16 venditur, 6 annos in servitute, 40 in Romanis partibus, 60 annos in Hibernia predicavit.'¹

While M. Sc. gives 132 as the age of Patrick at his

¹ See also Stokes, *Lives of St. Patrick*, ii, 811.

death, J. W. gives 122, which is the recognised number also given in a gloss in the former.

495. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. which is alike in MSS. A, B, C, E and F, and was doubtless the same in D. Florence adds the words '*illosque victos fugere compulerunt.*'

From 496 to 500 all the entries in J. W. are from M. Sc. It should be noted that in the last year one of the consuls at Rome was called Patricius.

501. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest from A.S.C. in which A, B, C, E and F are alike.

From 502 to 507 J. W. again entirely follows M. Sc. and A.S.C. in all copies is silent.

In 508 he follows the chronicle except in naming the consul from Marianus. A, B and C have two variants for the one name, i.e. '*Natanleod*,' which is right, and '*Natanleag*'; E and F have '*Nāpanleod*' and '*Nāpanleog*.' J. W. has '*Natanleod*' in both places, and could not therefore have been following E, and probably copied either C or D.

From 509 to 513 J. W. follows M. Sc. and A.S.C. is silent.

514. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest is from A.S.C. The place J. W. calls *Cerdicesora* is so called in A, E and F, and *Cerdeceshora* in B and C. It probably came from D. The chronicles merely say that the Britons were defeated. J. W. says '*quosdam ex eis occiderunt, quosdam vero fugaverunt.*'

The annals of the next four years in J. W. are all from M. Sc.

519. The first clause is from M. Sc, the rest is from A.S.C. where it follows B, C and F. In E is an additional clause which has been interpolated in A. This is not in J. W. who adds the words '*et victores exstiterunt.*'

From 521 to 526 J. W. again copies M. Sc. In 521 we have the entry: '*Sancta Brigida, Scotta virgo, in Hibernia obiit,*' and A.S.C. is again silent. M. Sc. under the year 523 also has the marginal entry '*Columcilli nascitur in Hibernia,*' which is not in J. W.

527. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest is from A.S.C. but not from E, which has *Cerdicesford* instead of *Cerdicesleag* as in A, B and C. The entry was probably from C or D.

We next have two annals in J. W. entirely taken from M. Sc.

530. The first clause this year is from M. Sc. the rest is from A.S.C. J. W. calls the Isle of Wight 'Vectam insulam,' thus following the Wihte-ealand of A, B, C and F and not E, where the word is corrupted to Wihtland. He also adds the words 'et illam suis nepotibus Stufae et Wihtgaro dederunt,' which he transfers from the entry in A.S.C. in 534. The 'paucos homines' of J. W. follows the 'fea men' of B and C, and originally A in A.S.C. and not the 'feala' of MS. E.

531, 532 and 533. In these entries J. W. follows M. Sc. closely. A.S.C. is silent.

534. J. W. first gives a clause from M. Sc. and then adds the obit of Cerdic and the succession of his son Kenric or Cynric. This must have come from a version of A.S.C. agreeing with A and E, since J. W. like them makes the reign of Cynric twenty-six years and not twenty-seven as B, C and F. I believe it came from D when perfect, which was generally in agreement with E.

535 to 537. J. W. follows M. Sc.

538. This year is vacant in M. Sc. and J. W. takes the eclipse from A.S.C. in which the MSS. A, B, C, E and F all agree.

539 is vacant in J. W.

540. The first clause is from M. Sc.; the clause about the second eclipse is from A.S.C. All the manuscripts agree.

541 to 543. In these years J. W. follows M. Sc. A.S.C. is silent. In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss 'David qui et Dewi Menevensem praesulatum in Walliam suscepit.'¹ Whence this comes I do not know.

544. J. W. in the first clause follows M. Sc. and then A.S.C. in which the MSS. A, B, C, E and F are alike. J. W. has two glosses explaining Wihtgarabyrig by 'in civitate Wihtgari.' Of Wihtgar he says he was the nephew of Cerdic, which is only a repetition from 530. He then inserts another clause from M. Sc. and finishes with a clause of his own about St. Gregory:

His temporibus factum est illud, quod sanctus Gregorius in dialogo suo retulit de episcopis, qui ob catholicam fidem truncatis linguis loque-

¹ *M.H.B.* page 524, note 5.

bantur, quorum unus propter luxuriam (in quam postea cecidit) hoc miraculo privatus est.

This is not given in the later printed editions.

545. This year is vacant both in J. W. and M. Sc.
546 is also vacant in J. W.

547 is vacant in M. Sc. but J. W. has an interesting clause. Up to this point all the notices in his work not in M. Sc. (with one exception from pope Gregory, the gloss about David and another), come from Bede's ecclesiastical history or A.S.C. In the latter case they all come from MS. C or D. In 547 J. W. quotes a fresh authority in reporting the accession of Ida as king of Bernicia and the succession of his sons. His words are:

In provincia Berniciorum, Ida regnum suscepit, et 12 annis regnavit. Hic ex reginis sex filios, Addam, Baelricum, Theodricum, Aethelricum, Theodherum, Osmærum et sex habuit ex pellicibus, Occ, Ailricum, Eccam, Oswald, Sogor, Sogetherum, ex quibus regalis Northanhymbrorum prosapia fuit propagata.¹

The greater part of this statement is not mentioned in A.S.C. In A (the original writing), B and C we are merely told that this year Ida began to reign, from whom sprang the royal race of Northumbria. Then follows Ida's genealogy. This occurs in B and C and was once in A, but was erased to make room for an interpolation. In E and F there is no genealogy, but we are told that Ida reigned twelve years. This is also stated by J. W. but there is nothing said in any copy of A.S.C. about his twelve sons. They are mentioned, however, in earlier documents than the chronicle. Thus in one place in the *Historia Britonum* (ed. Mommsen, p. 205) we read 'Ida filius Eobba tenuit regiones in sinistrâ parte id est Umbri maris, et regnavit annos duodecim.' This answers to the first part of the entry in J. W. and to the first of that in MSS. E and F of A.S.C. and was probably in D.

In another passage in the *Historia Britonum* (ibid. 202) we read: 'Ida autem duodecim filios habuit, quorum nomina sunt Adda, Aedldric, Deodric, Edric, Deothere, Osmer, et unam reginam Bearnod.' These answer to the six legitimate sons named in J. W. Although the author

¹ It is interesting and curious that in the genealogies appended to J. W. which I have claimed as the handiwork of Florence him-

self the names here spelt Baelric and Ailric are written Bealric and Edric. *M.H.B.* p. 632.

of the *Historia Britonum* mentions only six sons at this point it is clear that he knew of the other six, for he says he had twelve sons, and he presently mentions another son, namely Ealdric or Ealric (unless he was the same as Edric). Dr. Sweet dates this entry between 734 and 737 and probably in 737 (Oldest English texts, 148); we there read:

Anno DXLVII Ida regnare coepit a quo regalis [Nordanhymbrorum] prosapia originem tenet; et xii annos in regno permansit. Post hunc Glappa i annum, Adda viii, Aedilric iiiii, Theodric vii, Friduuwald vi, Husa vii, Aedilfred xxiii.

J. W. sub an. 559 has some variants. His statement runs: 'Interim super Bernicios regnaverunt Adda primogenitus Idæ septem annis, Clappa quinque; Theoduulf uno Freothulf vii, Theodric vii, Aethelric duobus vivente Aelle.

In the genealogy of Ceolwulf in A.S.C. in 731 (see J. W. 729) he is made to descend from Ocgā, who is also mentioned by J. W. under the name of Ecca among the natural sons. This evidence seems to make it certain that J. W. had good authority for his list of twelve names. Elsewhere they are only found as a whole, so far as I know, in the so-called *Libellus* (auct. incert.) *de Primo Saxonum adventu*, sometimes attributed to Simeon of Durham,¹ which has apparently been copied from J. W.²

Returning to J. W. the years 548 and 549 are vacant, as they are in the A.S.C.

In 550 J. W. gives a pedigree of Ida which is put in 547 in A.S.C., MSS. B and C. It was also in A before the erasure. It does not occur in E and F, and probably came from C or D. In J. W. two names are omitted between Frithelaf and Fin, namely Freothewulf and Frithulf. It ought to be added that the pedigree of Ida, which is only carried as far as Woden in the appendix to J. W. cannot be equated in other ways with that in the text of the same work.

551. J. W. merely contains a note from M. Sc. about the cycle.

552. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc.

¹ See *Sym. Dun.* Rolls series, ii, 374.

Simeon's *Hist. Dun. Ecc.* i, ch. 13, and the so-called Series Reg. Northm (*Sym. Dun.* Rolls series, ii, 390).

² The same list of names occurs in

The rest is from A.S.C. In J. W. Cynric is called 'rex occidentalium Saxonum,' which does not occur in any copy of the A.S.C. The pedigree of Cynric in J. W. is as in MSS. B and C of the chronicle and was once in A, but J. W. omits a name. The former have Cerdic, Elesing, Eles, Esling, Esia, Gewissing, while J. W. has Cerdic 'qui fuit Esia, qui fuit Gewis,' thus leaving out Eles. In the genealogy of the West Saxon kings in the appendix the ancestors of Cerdic are omitted.

553. In this year J. W. follows M. Sc. but adds two lines about pope Vigilius not in the latter. He says:

This is Vigilius to whom Arator dedicated his book and whom he thus apostrophises in the prologue of the same work: publica libertas sanctissime papa Vigili incluso accedes solvere cuncta regi.

No mention of this verse is made in Petrie's or Thorpe's edition.

554. J. W. and M. Sc. are alike.

555. J. W. apparently seeks a new source. M. Sc. divides the account of Totila's doings at Rome between two annals, namely 555 and 557. J. W. perhaps following another manuscript makes them continuous, which was probably right. After this he inserts a long passage, not in M. Sc. about the life of St. Austrobertha, the daughter of the count palatine Baderic and his wife Framchilda. Whence this comes and why J. W. should have inserted it I do not know, nor why it should not have been mentioned by Petrie or Thorpe.

556. The entry in this year is from A.S.C. where it occurs in A, B, C, and E and was once in F (now erased). J. W. merely adds 'et illos fugaverunt.' The year is vacant in M. Sc.

557. In this annal we have an entry from the Frankish annals in J. W. not in M. Sc. and not noticed by the editors of the former. It runs thus:

Sigebertus rex Francorum occisus est fraude Hilperici germani sui cum quo bellum inierat; regnumque Childebertus filius ejus (adhuc puerulus) cum Brunchilda matre regendum suscepit.

558. This follows M. Sc. exactly.

559. The first sentence about Cassiodorus in J. W. is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is about England and is not in M. Sc.

The pedigree of the Bernician kings as given by J. W. is like that in MSS. B and C of the A.S.C. with some variants, as seen in the accompanying table, in which the first column is from the chronicle.

Woden	Woden
Waegdaeg	Weagdeag
Sigegar	Siggar
Swebdaeg	Sweabdeag
Sigegeat	Siggeot
Saebald	Saebald
Saefugel	Saefugel
	Swearta
	Seomel
Westerfalca	Westorwalcna
Wilgisls	Wulgels
Uxfrea	Wuscfrea
Yffe	Yffa
Aelle	Aelle

The pedigree occurs only in MSS. B and C and probably came from C. Whence J. W. got the two names Swearta and Seomel I do not know.

J. W. also adds a sentence about the intercourse of Aelle with pope Gregory. He also, as we have seen, gives the names of Aelle's six legitimate sons, with the length of their reigns. This should be compared with the short list of Northumbrian dates published in the Moore manuscript of Bede's Ec. Hist. and compiled about 737. It will be seen that the lengths of the reigns do not, however, agree. J. W. also mentions the death of Aelle, the expulsion of Aedwin and Aethelric's reign over the joint provinces for five years, none of which is mentioned in A.S.C.

This annal is dated in 559 in MSS. C and F of A.S.C. and in 560 in A, B and E. It probably came from C or D.

560. The clause about the solar cycle in J. W. is only partially found in M. Sc. and there it occurs in a gloss in the margin. The words 'concurrentibus bissextilibus' are added by J. W. The second clause is partly from the chronicle, in which all the five copies A, B, C, E and F are alike. J. W. adds that Ceaulin was the son of Kenric and that he reigned thirty-three years. M. Sc. has this year the entry 'Arator archidiaconus acta apostolorum versibus exametris Rome exaravit.' This was the Arator

from whom J. W. quotes the verse quoted above sub an. 553. J. W. says correctly of Aelle 'in provincia Deirorum regnum suscepit,' where all the manuscripts of the A.S.C. say 'Northanhymbra.'

561. In this year the first clause is from M. Sc. The second about Aethelbert of Kent is directly quoted by J. W. from Bede. He makes him reign fifty-six years. The equivalent notice in A.S.C. is only in E and F, where it is dated in 565 and he is made to reign fifty-three years. In both cases Thorpe argues that J. W. is right and cites the evidence of the best manuscripts of Bede, which place Aethelberht's death in 616 (one in 617) after a reign of fifty-six years (see *H.E.* ii, 5). It is interpolated in A.

In 562 J. W. entirely follows M. Sc. The A.S.C. has no entry this year. The clause in M. Sc. however, is divided between the years 562 and 564 (see Bede, *H.E.* iii, 4).

563. J. W. and A.S.C. are both vacant. In this year M. Sc. has a clause about St. Columba, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, thus 'Columcille egit cath. Cullidremne,' i.e. in the battle of Culidrenne.¹

In the year 564 J. W. entirely follows M. Sc.

In 565 the first clause is from M. Sc. The passage in J. W. about Columba was derived by him directly from Bede's Ecclesiastical History (lib. ii, 4); he calls the Picts Septentrionales Pictos. M. Sc. has a passage of his own about St. Columba which is not in the A.S.C. thus: 'Columcilli de Hibernia praedicaturus in Britannia cum esset 42 annorum; praedicavit vero postea 33 annis.' Except the last two words this is like Tighernac, op cit. p. 144. The date in the Ulster annals is 562. Tighernac says he was forty-five years old and not forty-two.

566. In this year J. W. combines the two annals contained in 566 and 567 in M. Sc. This year and the next one are vacant in A.S.C.

567. This year has no entry in J. W.

568. The first clause follows M. Sc. the rest is from A.S.C. where it occurs in A, B, C, E and F, but in E and F Oslac is put instead of Oslaf. This entry doubtless comes from C. J. W. adds that Cutha was the son of Ceaulin. MSS. E and F, which alone of the manuscripts of A.S.C.

¹ See Tighernac, *Rev. Celtique*, xvii, 144. He dates it in 561, as do the annals of Ulster.

give the relationship, call him his brother (vide F sub an. 568 and E 571).

569. This entry is from M. Sc. who, however, puts the beginning of the New Indiction in this year, while J. W. puts it in 570.

571. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest is from A.S.C. It cannot be from E, which calls the chief named Cuthwulf by J. W. and by MSS. A, B and C, Cutha. It doubtless came from C or D. J. W. adds in regard to Ceaulin the words 'eodem anno vita decessit.'

In the annals 572-576 J. W. entirely follows M. Sc. In these years A.S.C. is vacant.

In 577 J. W. contains the obituary of Saint Maurus which is not in M. Sc. but probably came from one of his lives by Faustus or Odo.¹ It is omitted from the recent editions. In the English part of the annal J. W. follows A.S.C. adding that Cuthwine was the son of Ceaulin and that beside the British kings there mentioned, 'others were slain.' It probably came from C, as that manuscript spells one of the kings' names Conmaegl and not with two m's like A and E.

From 577 to 587 the chronicle is silent.

578, 579. J. W. is entirely from M. Sc. There are no annals in the years 577-583 in A.S.C.

580. J. W. has the entry 'Chilpericus rex Francorum,' which is neither in M. Sc. nor A.S.C.

581-583. These annals are from M. Sc.

584. J. W. here follows A.S.C. which is largely alike in A, B, C and E, but the three former contain an additional clause not in E or F or J. W. i.e. 'and wrathful he (Ceaulin) thence retired to his own.' The clause probably therefore came from D. He adds that Ceaulin was king of the West Saxons and was the father of Cutha.

585. This is from M. Sc.

586. J. W. has 'Childebertus Francorum rex.' Here again he follows some Frankish text in the phrase. It is his only entry this year. J. W. alone mentions that Aethelric reigned over both provinces 'ambas provincias' of Northumbria.

587. In this annal J. W. is vacant.

¹ See *Act. Sanct.* Jan. 1, p. 1069 et seq.

588. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The birth of Audoenus (Saint-Ouen) is not in the latter and is doubtless from a life of the saint.¹ The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. which is alike in A, B, C and E. J. W. calls Aelle king of Deira and says he died in the thirteenth year of his reign, which is not in A.S.C. He adds that Aethelric reigned five years *over both provinces*, a statement already given in 559.

589. This is from M. Sc. and describes the mission of Columbanus with St. Gallus and other disciples from Ireland and his settlement in Gaul.

590. This is another Frankish extract in J. W. It says 'Lotharius rex Francorum.'

591. This is from A.S.C. It could not be from E, which calls the king Ceolric and not Ceol as in A, B and C, with which J. W. agrees. It doubtless came from C or D. J. W. says Ceol was son of Cuthwulf, the brother of king Ceaulin.

592. The foreign notices in this annal in J. W. are divided between the years 592 and 593 in M. Sc. The English notice is from A.S.C. in which MSS. A, B, C and E are alike. J. W. adds a gloss explaining Wodnesbeorh by *mons Wodeni*. He also says that Ceaulin was expelled in the thirty-third year of his reign.

593. In J. W. this clause is partly from A.S.C. in which MSS. A, B, C and E are alike, except that E has a short genealogy of Aethelfrid which is not in the other copies nor in J. W. who here doubtless followed C or D. He adds the obit of Aethelric, whom he styles king of the Northumbrians. This is not in A.S.C. The length of the reign of Aethelfrid, namely twenty-four years, is not given in this place in A.S.C. The names of his sons are mentioned in the latter but in the year 617. They occur only in MS. E but were doubtless in D. The lists are not quite alike.

J. W.	A.S.C.
Eanfredus	Eanfrid
Oswaldus	Oswald
Oslafus	Oswiu
Oswius	Oslac
Offa	Oswudu
Oswudu	Oslaf
Oslacus	Offa

¹ See *Acta Sancti*. August 4, p. 797, etc.

J. W. adds a daughter, Aebbe, not named in A.S.C. She became the abbess of Coldingham. J. W. here doubtless followed Bede (*H.E.* iv, 19).

594 and 595. These two annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc. A.S.C. is silent in these years.

596. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The rest is in the words of Bede (*H.E.* i, 27). It is curious that J. W. dates it by the indiction and not, as in Bede, by the Incarnation.

597. The earlier part of this annal in J. W. about Ethelberht and Augustine also follows Bede; as he himself says, 'Beda teste.'¹ The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. The fact that J. W. gives the first of the pedigrees of Ceolwulf, which is only in A, B and C, and not E, shows that it comes from one of the former chronicles and probably from C. J. W. adds, speaking of Ceolwulf, the words 'filius Cuthae, fratris regis Ceaulini,' and further adds that Ceolwulf reigned fourteen years. In Howard's edition of J. W. this latter fact is put in 598, which is vacant in A.S.C. This was doubtless a mistake of the editor.

598 and 599 are vacant in J. W.

600. The first clause in J. W. about the war between the Frankish king Chlothaire and his nephews Theodebert and Theodoric is from a Frankish chronicle. The rest of the annal is doubtless from Goscelin's life of St. Ivo. The words 'vere coeli' in this phrase are given as 'veri solis' in two manuscripts.

601. This annal in J. W. follows M. Sc. who, however, dates it a year earlier.

602. This year is vacant in J. W.

603. The foreign clauses in J. W. in this annal are from M. Sc. The English one referring to the reign of Aethelfrid of Northumbria is from Bede (*H.E.* i, 34, and ii, 2, in his own words), and not from A.S.C. The first clause about the emperor Phocas is from a gloss in M. Sc.

604. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from *H.E.* ii, 3 and 4, much of it in Bede's own words.

605. The clause in J. W. is verbatim from *H.E.* ii, 1.

606. J. W. here follows M. Sc. A.S.C. is silent.

607. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next one is from A.S.C. in which all the manuscripts are alike. The

¹ See Bede, *H.E.* i, 25 and 26.

last clause about the cycle is also from M. Sc. who puts it, however, in 606. In a gloss to MS. A of J. W. we have an entry in a later hand reading thus: 'Sanctus David qui et Dewi, Menevensis episcopus in Wallia migravit ad Dominum.'¹ It is put in this year in the *Annales Cambriae*.

The entries in 608 to 610 inclusive in J. W. are like M. Sc. For this period A.S.C. is vacant.

611. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. J. W. makes Cynegils reign thirty-two years while A.S.C. gives him thirty-one only in all the four copies, A, B, C and E. The pedigree of Cynegils in MSS. B and C of A.S.C. ends with Cynric, called Kenric by J. W. which is clearly a mistake. J. W. continues it as far as Cerdic. This pedigree shows that J. W. was not following E, which does not contain it, but probably C.

612 and 613. J. W. and M. Sc. are alike in these annals, except that the latter puts the death of pope Boniface in 612 and not 613. A.S.C. is vacant in these two years.

614. J. W. calls Cuichelm the son of Cynegils, which is not mentioned in this place in A.S.C. In describing the battle of Bandon (in Beandune) J. W. puts the loss of the Britons at 2046 'duo millia quadraginta sex,' while MSS. B and C of A.S.C. make it 2045 and A and E make it 2065. Perhaps D made it 2046.

615. J. W. in this annal is like M. Sc.

616. M. Sc. omits any mention of the solar cycle, which is duly entered by J. W. The next clause in the latter is from Bede, *H.E.* ii, 5, down to the word 'sociavit.' The next one about Redwald is from *H.E.* v, 12; but one sentence seems due to J. W. himself where he says of Aedwin 'et vii filios Aethelfridi expulit.' The next clause is from *H.E.* ii, 5 and 6. Like Bede, J. W. here calls the West Saxons Gewissi. He does not give the names of the seven sons of Aethelfrid, but they are clearly those mentioned by him in 593 (see above).

617 and 618 are vacant in both J. W. and A.S.C. except MS. E, which alone of the manuscripts mentions the battle on the Idle and puts it in 617. It was doubtless also in D and came from Bede.

All the manuscripts of A.S.C. except F are vacant

¹ *M.H.B.* 527, note 1.

from 618–624 inclusive. In F there is an interpolation giving the obit of archbishop Laurentius in this year.

619. The obit of pope Deusdedit in J. W. in 619 is put in 618 in M. Sc.

620. The accession of pope Boniface is put in 620 in J. W. and 619 in M. Sc. J. W. says Mellitus reigned five years, which would put his death in 624, but he, like M. Sc. puts it in 625. Both have the sentence ‘Hic constituit ut nullus trachatur de ecclesia.’

621. J. W. puts in this year the journey of Anastasius to Persia, with his martyrdom and the miracles caused by his tunic. This is all from M. Sc. but is entered by the latter in the year 616. The rest of the clause about archbishops Lawrence and Mellitus is from Bede, *H.E.* ii, 7. Bede, however, and A.S.C. MS. F date the event in 619, but J. W. himself says that Mellitus, having ruled the church five years, died in 625.

622 and 623 are vacant in J. W.

624. This entry is from M. Sc. who puts it in 623.

625. The first clause in J. W. mentions the death of pope Honorius, which M. Sc. puts in 624. The second one, about the emperor Heraclius and the Persians, is put by M. Sc. in 616. J. W. wrongly puts the death of Mellitus in this year. Bede dates it in 624. It is not mentioned in A.S.C. MSS. A, B and C, but is in E in 624 and was doubtless in D. Apart from the mistaken date the entry in J. W. is from *H.E.* ii, 7.

626. J. W. puts the consecration of Paulinus in this year, while Bede puts it in 625, as do MSS. E and F of A.S.C. The rest of the annal in J. W. is from *H.E.* ii, 9.

627. The first clause about the relics of Anastasius in J. W. is reported in M. Sc. in the year 616 (cf. 621 above). The next section about the attempt on Aedwin's life by Eomer and the baptism of Eanfleda are from *H.E.* ii, 9, and in Bede's words. Bede, however, dates the events, as does A.S.C. in 626. The last clause about Penda's accession is from A.S.C. It could not have come from E, since that manuscript does not state that he was 50 at his accession, which is in A, B and C and also in J. W. J. W. again gives the pedigree, which is not in E and only in B and C, but it was in G. Thorpe only speaks of him as of royal race at the battle of Hatfield in 633, adding that he

reigned twenty-two years; but as all concur that he died in 655, it seems he was not actually king till his victory over Aedwine (Thorpe, *F. W.* p. 15, note 3). He spells the Angelpæov of A.S.C. 'Angengeat.' Like G he calls Penda's father Wibba and not Pybba, as also do B and C. He inserts two names between Wihtleag and Woden, namely Waga and Wothelgeat, which also occur in his genealogical tables. They also occur in the *Historia Britonum*, which says 'Woden genuit Guedolgeat, genuit Guaegon, genuit Guithleg,' etc.¹

628. The first clause is from *H.E.* ii, 14, which, however, dates it in 627. J. W. states that Aedwin's baptism took place about 230 years after the arrival of the English, while Bede says 180. This was doubtless a clerical error in J. W. The next clause about the pope's letters to the Irish Scots is from *H.E.* ii, 19. These are dated by Bede in 634 and 640 (*H.E.* ii, 18 and 19). The next sentence in J. W. is here corrupt. Instead of 'pro eodem Pascha eis scripsit et pro Pelagiana haeresi eos reviviscebat' his original Bede says 'pro eodem errore corrigendo literas . . . pro Pelagiana heresi . . . cavenda ac repellenda . . . admonere curavit' (see Bede, *H.E.* ii, 19, Thorpe, *F.W.* p. 16). The last clause is from A.S.C. in which the manuscripts are all alike. J. W. speaks of Kinegils as the father of Cuichelm, which is one of his own glosses (cf. 614 above).

629, 630 and 631 are all vacant in J. W. except in MS. A, where in 629 there is a gloss, viz :

'Honorius papa pallium Paulino misit, qui postmodum Honorium, Justı successorē, in Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem consecravit in Lindissi provincia.'²

They are also silent in the A.S.C.

632. This annal in J. W. is condensed from *H.E.* ii, 15, and in similar words.

633. J. W. calls Aedwin 'gloriosus rex.' This annal is also from *H.E.* ii, 20, and largely in the same words. In MS. A we have the gloss, added to the account of Paulinus' return to Kent, 'et multo post Hrofensem ecclesiam, mortuo Romano, suscepit regendam.'³

¹ op. cit. 203.

² *M.H.B.* 528, note 4. It is from *H.E.* ii, 18.

³ *M.H.B.* 528, note 5.

634. The earlier part of the annal in J. W. is from Bede, *H.E.* iii, 1, and partly in his words. It is curious that none of the copies of the A.S.C. mention the death of the Northumbrian rulers Osríc and Eanfred at the hands of Caedwalla. The clause in J. W. about bishop Birin is from *H.E.* iii, 7. J. W. makes this the birth-year of St. Wilfrid. It was probably a calculation of his own from the date of his death. It is neither in Bede nor the A.S.C. The last clause in J. W. with the death of Chlovis son of Dagobert, king of the Franks, is from a Frankish chronicle.

635. J. W. here follows *H.E.* iii, 3, and iii, 7, in a paragraph of eight lines. A.S.C. merely mentions the baptism of Cynegils and that Oswald was his godfather. The last clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. J. W. writes the 'Dunnoc' of Bede (i.e. Dunwich) 'Dorccic' and dates the arrival of St. Furse in 636.

636. This annal is also from *H.E.* ii, 15; iii, 18 and 19, except the last sentence referring to the baptism of Cuichelm, which is in A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C and E. J. W. adds that he was the son of Cynegils (cf. 614, 628, above).

637 and 638. These annals in J. W. are from M. Sc. They are silent in A.S.C.

639. The greater part of this annal is also from the same source. The last clause is from A.S.C. in which all the copies are alike. J. W. adds of Cuthred, 'Cuichelmi regis filium.'

640. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. J. W. agrees with A, B and C in making the reign of Eadbald twenty-five years, while E and F make it twenty-four. It is probable that J. W. here followed C or D. Bede (*H.E.* iii, 8) says twenty-four years and nine months. The phrase about Earconberht instituting the Easter fast, etc. is from *H.E.* iii, 8. The rest of the annal is from M. Sc.

641. This annal is from M. Sc.

642. This is from *H.E.* iii, 9. J. W. merely adds that Oswald was the son of Aethelfrid and grandson of Aedwin and says he was 38 years old at his death. I do not know whence he got this. He condenses the appreciation of Oswald by Bede into fewer words.

643. This annal is from Bede, the first part from

H.E. iii, 14, and the last from iii, 7. J. W. adds that Cenwalch's reign was twenty-one years. In MS. E of A.S.C., where the fact is alone mentioned, he is made to reign thirty-one years (see sub an. 641).

644. The obit of pope Theodore is from M. Sc. J. W. says Paulinus was 18 years 2 months and 21 days bishop. Bede (*H.E.* iii, 14) says 19 years 2 months and 21 days, so does MS. E of A.S.C. which no doubt here follows Bede. MS. E of the chronicle puts his death, however, in 643 and not 644 like Bede, while F has 644.

645. The obit of pope Martin is from M. Sc. J. W. puts the expulsion of Cenwalch in this year; *H.E.* iii, 7, puts it in 643; MSS. A and F of A.S.C. in 645; MSS. B, C and E in 644. The annal in J. W. is in the words of Bede except that Bede puts Oswin's accession in 644 and not like J. W. in 645.

646. J. W. dates the baptism of Cenwalch in this year, MSS. B, C and E of A.S.C. in 645, MSS. A and F in 646. Bede puts it in 643 (*H.E.* iii, 7). J. W. adds that it was performed by bishop Felix, which is not expressly stated by Bede and is an inference.

647. The first part of the annal in J. W. is in M. Sc. The rest of it is entirely from *H.E.* iii, 20, which dates it in the same year. There is no mention of this in A.S.C.

648. J. W. puts the return of Cenwalch in this year. This is not expressly stated in *H.E.* iii, 7, which merely says he lived three years in East Anglia, and it is a calculation of J. W. Cenwalch's return is not mentioned in A.S.C. J. W. mentions the gift by Cenwalch of considerable lands to his nephew Cuthred, the son of Cuichelm. This is from A.S.C. which calls Cuthred, 'Cenwalch's maege.' J. W. describes the gift as 'non modicam ruris portionem,' A.S.C. describes it as 3,000 hides (MSS. A, B and E). The scribe of C has omitted the dots over the figure by mistake, making it three hides only. MSS. A and E call it 'iii thusanda landes.'

649. This entry is from M. Sc. who dates it in 647.

650. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest is from *H.E.* iii, 7. In A.S.C. there are variations in the date and in the phraseology.

651. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from *H.E.* iv. 27; iii, 14 and 17. J. W. gives the month and

day of Aidan's death which is given as 'ii kal. Septembris.' In MS. E of A.S.C. it is given as 'ii kal. Sept.' and both probably come from *H.E.* iii, 14 and 17, which says he died 'pridie kal. Sept.' J. W. says that king Oswin was murdered in the seventh year of his reign, which is clearly wrong. Bede says it was in the ninth year (*H.E.* iii, 14).

652. This entry is from M. Sc.

653. This long annal in J. W. is chiefly from *H.E.* iii, 20, 21, 22 and 23. The first clause, however, is from M. Sc. and that about Benedict Biscop is from Bede's *Lives of the Abbots*.

654. The first part of this entry in J. W. is from M. Sc. The second clause is probably from *H.E.* iii, 18. It is also in all the manuscripts of the A.S.C. The succession of Anna by his brother Aethelhere is also probably from *H.E.* iii, 24, from which it passed to A.S.C. MS. E. It is not in the other copies of that work. The building of the monastery at Ikanho by St. Botulf is not mentioned by Bede and comes from A.S.C. E and F, however, date the event in 653; while A, B and C with J. W. put it in 654.

655. The first clause in this annal was apparently composed by J. W. himself; the rest is all from *H.E.* iii, 24.

656. This annal in J. W. is from *H.E.* iii, 24.

657. This is vacant in J. W.

658. The first sentence in J. W. is from A.S.C. where it occurs in MSS. A, B, C and E but is not in Bede. The rest of the annal is from *H.E.* iii, 24, and is not in A.S.C. at all.

659. This in J. W. is from *H.E.* iii, 24. A.S.C. is vacant.

660. J. W. follows *H.E.* iii, 7. Like Bede he omits the length of Wini's episcopate, which is given as three years in MSS. A, B, C and E of A.S.C. The obit of Chlothaire, son of Chlovis, is from some Frankish source and is not in M. Sc.

661. The first clause in J. W. reads thus:

Cuthred Cuichelmi regis filius nepos videlicet Cinegilsi regis et regum Cenwalchii et Centuini fratrueis et Cenbriht subregulus, Ceaulini scilicet regis pronepos et pater Ceadwalae regis obierunt.

This represents J. W.'s theory of their descent and is

enlarged from the phrase in A.S.C. in which we merely read Cuthred 'Cwicelming and Cenbryht cing.' The MSS. A, B, C and E are alike, but J. W.'s statement is probably from C, since the clause about Wulfhere's fight, which is in MSS. A, B and C, is not in E and F. The last clause is from *H.E.* iv, 13, and iii, 25. The '*Mavorum provinciam in gente occidentalium Saxonum*' of J. W. is a contraction of *Meanvarorum*. In his obit of Cenbryht or Cenbert J. W. calls him 'subregulus . . . pater Ceadwallae regis.' He is also mentioned in the genealogy of the West Saxon kings in the appendix to J. W. In the A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C and E he is made one of the victims of the battle of Posentes byrig or Pontesbury, which is not named by J. W. but was fought in 661.

In MS. A of J. W. is a gloss taken from William of Malmesbury reading 'Defuncto Ithamar Hrofensi episcopo successit Damianus a Deusdedit archipraesule constitutus.'¹

662. This is vacant in J. W.

663. This is condensed from the entries in 660, 661, 662, 663 and 667 in M. Sc.

664. All this annal in J. W. is from *H.E.* iv, 5.

665. The entry in this annal was taken by J. W. from Bede's *History of the Abbots*.

666. The notice of the ordination of St. Aldhelm as abbot of Malmesbury is neither in Bede nor in A.S.C. The fact is mentioned in the life of the saint by Faricius, but no date is given. It probably came from the records at Malmesbury.

667. This annal in J. W. is entirely from *H.E.* iii, 29, and iv, 1. In MS. A of J. W. we read in a gloss in another hand 'Berhtgils qui et Bonifacius iii^{us} East-Anglorum (sic) episcopus obiit; cui Bisi vir venerandus successit.'²

668. The first part of this annal is from Bede, the first clause from his *History of the Abbots*, the rest from *H.E.* iv, 1. The clause about Constantine is from the glossator in M. Sc.

669. The obit of pope Adeodatus is from M. Sc. The rest of this annal is also entirely from Bede. The clause about Biscop is from the *History of the Abbots*, the rest from *H.E.* iv, 2, 3. J. W. after mentioning the ordination

¹ *M.H.B.* 531, note 2.

² *M.H.B.* 533, note 2.

of Putta adds the words 'et non multo post mortuo Jarumanno' (doubtless an inference). Bede says that Ceadda was appointed bishop of the Mercians by Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, who was Ceadda's king, on the request of king Wulfhere. J. W. says he was appointed 'Wulfero petente, et rege Oswiu concedente,' and that he held the bishopric conjointly with that of Lindisfarne. J. W. omits all reference to the foundation of the minster at Reculver, which is in all the MSS. A, B, C and E of A.S.C. and is the only notice which they contain this year. The concluding clause in J. W. about Wulfhere's gift of land at 'Ad Bearuwe' to build a monastery is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 3.

670. The first sentence in J. W. is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 5. The second one is from *H.E.* iii, 7, both largely in Bede's words. J. W. understands Bede's words 'in ipsa civitate' as meaning Winchester, for he says 'in Wintona civitate.' Bede says Leuthérius was bishop many years. J. W. definitely says seven ('vii annis episcopatum solus gessit') as do MSS. A, B, C and E of the chronicle. Oswy's pedigree, which is given in A, B and C but not in E, is omitted by J. W. and was probably omitted in D.

671. The first clause about the birds is from the A.S.C. in which all the manuscripts are alike. The next one about the appointment of Benedict Biscop to the abbacy at Canterbury is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*, ch. 3 and 4. The passage about abbot Hadrian is taken literally from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 1.

672. The first clause is from M. Sc. The obit of Cenwalch in J. W. is from the A.S.C. in which all the manuscripts make the same statement. J. W. adds that he died in the thirtieth year of his reign. J. W. specially quotes the A.S.C. for the succession of his widow Sexburga. His words are 'secundum Anglicam chronicam.' He similarly quotes Bede for the statement that the kingdom fell for ten years into the hands of subreguli. Roger of Wendover and Matthew of Westminster, who are, of course, late authorities, say that Sexburga was expelled: 'indignantibus regni magnatibus expulsa est a regno, nolentibus sub sexu foemineo militare' (see Thorpe, *F. of W.* 30, note 3). The paragraph about Aetheldrytha is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 19. J. W. says of her 'Sancti Oswaldi et

Oswiu regum germanae.' The clause about St. Chad and his successor is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 3. The last clause about Benedict Biscop is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*, ch. 4.

673. The obit of the pope is from M. Sc. The rest of this entry, except the last clause, which is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 19, is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 5, and largely in his own words.

674. The larger part of this long annal in J. W. is neither from M. Sc. nor from the A.S.C. It runs thus :

'Chlodoveo Dagoberti filio regni Francorum moderamine gubernante abbas quidam ecclesiae sancti aniani, quae est apud urbem Aurelianam (Leodebodus nomine) construxit monasterium, in agro Floriacensi; colligensque ibi plures ad serviendum Deo monachos, instituit illis abbatem nomine Mummolum. Qui divina revelatione praemonitus misit unum de suis monachis, Aiselfum nomine ad montem Cassinum ut inde sibi deferret sanctissimi corpus Benedicti. Qui veniens illico ibique pernoctans intempeste noctis silentio ipsum sancti Benedicti sepulchrum ita coelitus vidit illustrari ac si densis lampadibus circumfunderetur. Mox reverenter accessit et effracto a latere sepulchro illud exinanivit, et quicquid ibi reperit, id est ossa sanctae cessit Scholasticae virginis sororis suae in unius sportulae sinu recondit, Floriacum rediit. Translatum est igitur venerabile corpus sancti Benedicti a Cassino monte Floriacum anno incarnationis domini 774. Computantur a transitu sancti Benedicti usque ad obitum papae Gregorii anni 68 et ab obitu Gregorii usque ad translationem sancti Benedicti anni 70.

This story came from a life of St. Benedict. It is discussed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March, iii, 299-301. It is strange that this interesting paragraph should have been omitted from every printed edition of the so-called chronicle of Florence since Howard's original text and its mere reprint at Frankfurt. The same is true of the various obits of Frankish kings which I have included in earlier pages.

After this paragraph J. W. reports in the same year the succession of the Anglo-Saxon king Aescwine, adding 'secundum anglicam chronicam occidentalium Saxonum suscepit regnum,' which is interesting. He gives his pedigree as it stands in MSS. A B and C of the A.S.C. which is not mentioned in E, showing it was not taken from the latter and it is probably from C. J. W. then gives a clause about Ireland from M. Sc. and, lastly, one about Benedict Biscop from Bede's *History of the Abbots*.

675. The obit of pope Agatho is from M. Sc. The next

clause about the fight between Wulfhere and Aescwine comes from A.S.C. It is given in A, C and E, but not in B, *which is important*. As we shall see, B is vacant this year. It doubtless comes from C, and it is not named by Bede. The death of Wulfhere is taken from Bede, *H.E.* v, 24, and the estimate of the king is condensed from other passages in Bede. J. W. (probably an inference) adds 'in tota gente sua daemoniorum culturam destruxit et penitus eradicavit . . . et multis in locis ecclesias aedificavit.' The phrase 'ad Uranica regna migravit' seems also to be his. The long passage which follows is from the life of St. Mildred. That about Winfrid is from *H. E.* iv, 6. In regard to the foundation of Chertsey abbey J. W. has an interesting sentence. He says of the double abbey, 'quod adminiculo Frithewoldi subreguli opulentia rerum et monachis implevit.' Probably this came from a charter. The death of Earconwald and succession of Waldhere as bishop of London are from *H.E.* iv, 11. The name of his successor Inguald is expressly derived from Bede by J. W. who says of the phrase 'ultimus quem Beda in Historia Anglorum Lundoniensem commemorat episcopum.' Bede names him in *H.E.* v, 23. The succession of Hildelitha as abbess of Barking is also taken by J. W. from *H.E.* iv, 10. J. W. adds about her, 'ad quam S. Aldelmus scripsit librum de Virginitate.' The reference in this annal in J. W. to Wulfhedis having been abbess of Barking after Hildelitha in the reign of Edgar I cannot trace to an earlier writer. Triccingaham and Heanbyrig mentioned in this clause by J. W. have been identified with Trentham and Hanbury in Staffordshire.

676. The greater part of this annal is from M. Sc. Next comes a notice of Benedict Biscop which is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*. The succession of Centwine to the West Saxon throne is not given by Bede and is from A.S.C. J. W. gives only two steps in his pedigree. The rest is given in A.S.C. MSS. A, B and C but not in E. It probably came from C; J. W. however, substitutes Ceol for Ceolwulf. The succession of the bishops of Rochester is from *H.E.* iv, 12. The sentence about St. Cuthberht's retirement to an anchorite's cell is either from the life of the saint or from *H.E.* iv, 27.

677. All this annal in J. W. except the last sentence

is taken from *H.E.* iv, 12, virtually in the same words. The last sentence is from *H.E.* v, 19, also in his words. These events are dated in 678 in MSS. A, B, C and E of the chronicle and in 677 in F.

The appearance of these comets is put by Bede (*H.E.* iv, 12) and by A.S.C. under the year 678.

678. The obit of St. Audoen or Ouen is not in M. Sc. and probably comes from a life of the saint.¹ It is omitted in the later printed editions of J. W. The birth of Bede is probably a calculation of J. W. from *H.E.* v, 24, who seems to date it in 679. M. Sc. under this year says 'Sanctus Beda presbiter Anglicus, computator, his temporibus clarus habetur.' There is no record of this in A.S.C. Modern writers dispute this. Mabillon in his life of Bede, §2, says he was born in 673, but Stevenson adopts Page's criticism (crit. in *Annal. Baron.* A.D. 693, §8, seems to date it conclusively in 674).

679. The first clause is from M. Sc. who, however, divides it between the years 679 and 680. The war between Ecgfrid and Aethelred is from *H.E.* iv, 21. The notice about Wilfrid is from the same work, v, 19. But instead of Agatho, as in Bede, J. W. says it was pope Benedict who received Wilfrid. The third clause about Aetheldrytha is from *H.E.* iv, 19.

680. The first clause is from *H.E.* iv, 17. In this notice J. W. mentions Agatho and not Benedict as pope, as Bede does. The second clause is from Bede, iv, 18. The clause about Mercia being divided into five dioceses is apparently an original statement and is repeated in the account of Hwiccia in the appendix.² The next one is from *H.E.* vi, 23, 24. For the reference to Caedmon in J. W. see *H.E.* iv, 24. The gift of thirty 'lands' by Oshere to Frithowald is apparently derived from a charter. Oshere was not known to Bede, nor is he named in A.S.C. and is first mentioned by J. W. who names him again in his account of the Hwiccians in the appendix, op. cit. 622-624. The document here quoted by J. W. is described by Kemble as spurious.

681. The clause about Bede is also in the *H.E.* v, 24. It is in Bede's words. The latter, however, dates it in 679. The rest of the annal is from *H.E.* iv, 12. In

¹ See *Acta Sanct.* for 24th August.

² See *M.H.B.* 622.

this year M. Sc. inserts a clause about St. Aetheldrytha which is taken verbatim from Bede, *De Ratione temporum* M.H.B. 99. It is not in J. W.

682. The first sentence is from A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C and E which are alike here except that C dates it in 683. It probably came from D, but J. W. adds the words 'rex West Saxonum' to 'Kentwine' and instead of 'Bret wealas' puts 'occidentales Britones.' The last clause about Benedict Biscop is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*.

683. J. W. has only one entry in 683. It is about the cycle. It is from M. Sc.

684. The obit of the pope and his place of sepulture are from M. Sc. The first English entry in J. W. is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 26, and the last from the same author's *History of the Abbots*; the rest is from *H.E.* iv, 28.

685. The first two clauses are from M. Sc. The next one is from *H.E.* iv, 28. The next one about the Northumbrian church is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*. Bede does not say that Easterwine died of the plague as J. W. does. The third one about Cuthberht is from *H.E.* iv, 28. The next about Ecgfrid is from *H.E.* iv, 26. J. W. gives the story of Ecgfrid's death in Bede's words, but adds the word 'sabbato' to the date. The next clause about bishop John is from *H.E.* v, 26. That about Trumwine from *H.E.* iv, 26. That about Caedwalla is from *H.E.* iv, 15. The last clause is from A.S.C. J. W. puts the death of Kentwine in this year and was apparently the first to do so. It was probably a guess of his. The rest of the annal referring to Caedwalla's succession and to his pedigree is from A.S.C. where it occurs in MSS. A, B and C, but not in E or F, and it doubtless comes from C. The last clause about Justinian is from M. Sc.

686. The first clause of this annal is almost verbatim from *H.E.* v, 3. The only copy of A.S.C. which gives it is MS. E, doubtless from Bede, and it has an extraordinary blunder in substituting Caestre for York as the see of John and the place of Wilfrid's consecration, which it puts in 685, showing that J. W. could not have derived the statement from that manuscript. The next clause about Caedwalla killing Bercthun, duke of the South Saxons, comes from *H.E.* v, 3. Then comes a reference

to the ravaging of Kent by Caedwalla and his brother Mul. This is not mentioned by Bede, and J. W. has taken it from A.S.C. in which all five manuscripts are alike. 'Kent' in the notice seems to be a mistake for Sussex (see *H.E.* iv, 15). It will be noted that the Isle of Wight is mentioned directly after Kent in the notice in A.S.C. while Sussex is not there named. Berwin as given in this annal by J. W. is called Bernwin by Bede and Berhtwin in the A. S. version of Bede (see Thorpe, *F. of W.* 40, note 2). The next clause is from *H.E.* iv, 16. The notice of the settlement of Cuthberht as a hermit on Farne island is taken by J. W. from *H.E.* iv, 28. He adds that this was two years after he had been made bishop 'duobus annis in episcopatu peractis.' The last clause is from *H.E.* iv, 26.

687. The clause about the burning of Mul and the second devastation of Kent by Caedwalla are not in Bede, which is strange, and have been taken by J. W. from A.S.C. where they occur in all the five manuscripts. It seems to me that here again 'Kent' has been substituted for 'Sussex.' The second clause about Cuthberht's death is from Bede, *H.E.* iv, 29. J. W. qualifies the name of Wilfrid as 'Hagustaldensis episcopus.' The next clause about Cuthberht's successor as anchorite at Farne is from *H.E.* v, 1. The concluding one about St. Kilian, bishop of Würzburg, is verbatim from M. Sc.

688. The first sentence about Pepin, king of the Franks, is from M. Sc. The first half of the next one about Ine is taken from *H.E.* v, 7. The second, from A.S.C. is very interesting. It occurs only in A among the extant manuscripts, and there it is an insertion. It occurred, however, in G, from which, as Thorpe says, it doubtless came. It says of Ine that he 'getimbrade ƿaet meoster aet Glaestingabyrig.'¹ The spurious charter of Ine to Glastonbury is in Kemble *Cod. Dip.* 73, Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, 207 and William of Malmesbury, i, 36-39 (see Plummer, A.S.C. vol. ii, 32). In MS. B of J. W. there is the additional clause in a gloss 'et monasterium quod dicitur Abbendona, quod prius vir nobilis Cissa et rex Ceadwala inceperunt, perfecti.'² In the pedigree of Ine in J. W. one step is

¹ See *M.H.B.* 322, note 48, and Thorpe's edition of the *Chronicle*, i, 64; Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii, 32.

² *M.H.B.* 537, note 2.

different to those in A.S.C. A, B and C, in which alone it occurs. He says 'Ceolwald cujus pater Cutha, cujus pater Cuthwinus.' A.S.C. says: 'Ceolwald waes Cynegylses broður and ða waeron Cuthwines suna.' A.S.C. also gives two additional names to the pedigree, namely Cerdic and Cynric. The clause about bishop Eadberht is from *H.E.* iv, 29. The next paragraph is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*; the concluding word 'sabbato' is not in MS. A of J. W. In J. W. MS. A has an additional sentence, 'defuncto Putta Herefordensi episcopo Tyrhtel successit.' (*M.H.B.* 538, note 3).

689. The first sentence is from M. Sc. and the next one about Benedict Biscop is from Bede's *History of the Abbots*. The next paragraph about Caedwalla is from *H.E.* v, 7, but J. W. omits the statement that the pope was named Peter. He puts Caedwalla's baptism in 688.

The chief facts about Caedwalla at Rome are entered in all the existing manuscripts of A.S.C. in 688. These manuscripts are all vacant in 689.

690. This entry in J. W. is from *H.E.* v, 8.

691. The first clause in J. W. is from *H.E.* v, 19. The second from *H.E.* v, 23. The third from v, 26. The last clause about Suaebhard is from *H.E.* v, 8.

692. The first paragraph is from M. Sc. as usual verbatim. The adventures of Ecgberht in Frisia which form a large part of this annal in J. W. are from *H.E.* v, 9, 10. The succession of Berctwald is taken from Bede, *H.E.* v, 8. The concluding clause about Oftfor and the succession of St. Ecgwin apparently occurs for the first time in J. W. It was probably taken from St. Ecgwin's life. St. Ecgwin is not named in Bede or the A.S.C.

693. The first clause of this annal about the ordination of Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, by Godwin, 'metropolitan bishop of the Gauls,' is almost verbatim from *H.E.* v, 8. The concluding sentence about Bede becoming a deacon seems a misdating of that event, which Bede himself puts in his nineteenth year, i.e. in 691. J. W. makes the date the third of the kalends of July, and not the fifth of the nones of July.

With this year we reach a notable step in our analysis. After a long interval MS. D of the chronicle which, as

we have seen, has an important mutilation in its earlier part, is again intact. The gap ends in the middle of the sentence referring to the consecration of Brihtwald, i.e. Berhtwald, as archbishop of Canterbury. Like MSS. E and F, which alone mention it, it puts it on the fifth of the nones of July (i.e. the 3rd of July) instead of the third of the kalends of July (i.e. 29th June) as reported by Bede and J. W. It is curious that the death of Drythelm, which is entered in 693 in both MSS. D and E of the chronicle and is misspelt Brihthelm by mistake in MS. E, does not occur in the other manuscripts and is not mentioned either by Bede or by J. W.

694. This annal is contained in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. but they all speak of the sum paid by the Kent men as thirty thousand pounds, while J. W. says 3,750. Ethelwerd says that it was 'solidos millia triginta, per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis.' William of Malmesbury says it was 30,000 mancuses which, at eight to the pound, are equal to the sum mentioned by J. W. (Thorpe, F. W. 44, note 4). It is not mentioned by Bede. The succession of Wihtred to the Kentish throne, which is named in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. is not in J. W. at all, which is strange, nor is Wihtred's pedigree which is given in MSS. A, B, C and D of the A.S.C. but not in E. Bede dates Wihtred's accession in 690 (*H.E.* iv, 26). M. Sc. has a notice of St. Wilbrord this year; it comes verbatim from Bede's *De ratione temporum* and not from the *H.E.* The notice of Wilbrord in J. W. is from the *H.E.*

695. The first entry is from M. Sc. The next is from *H.E.* vi, 19.

696. The first notice is from M. Sc. The second from *H.E.* v, 11. The manuscripts of the A.S.C. are all blank in 695 and 696.

697. The first clause is from the life of St. Guthlac by Felix. The last one about Ostritha is only contained in MSS. D, E and F of A.S.C. and in Bede's 'recapitulation.'¹ J. W. calls her the queen of Aethelred, king of the Mercians, as does Bede, but does not say she was the sister of Ecgfrid, as the A.S.C. does. The murder of Ostritha, however, as given by J. W. is clearly not from

¹*M.H.B.* 296.

Bede direct but from A.S.C. M. Sc. has a paragraph about St. Cuthberht, not in J. W. which comes from Bede's chronicle.

698. The first clause is from M. Sc. The annal is blank in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. J. W. takes the passage about Cuthberht's 'translation' from Bede almost word for word (*H.E.* iv, 30). The last sentence about bishop Eadfrid's succession is not contained in Bede nor in any author earlier than J. W.

699. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next was doubtless taken from the life of St. Guthlac by Felix. J. W. does not mention the killing of Bercht the ealdorman by the Picts which is in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. A, B and C are vacant this year.

700 and 701. A.S.C. is vacant in both years and J. W. follows M. Sc. in both.

703. J. W. here follows M. Sc. in quoting Bede, *De ratione temporum*.

704. In the first clause J. W. follows M. Sc. The English part of the annal is from *H.E.* v, 19 and 24. A.S.C. in all the MSS. A, B, C, D and E differs from both Bede and J. W. in making king Aethelred die when he had reigned twenty-nine years. He died abbot of his own foundation at Bardney. As my friend Mr. Thompson writes me, J. W. seems to hedge between the statements of Bede and the chronicle.

705. The foreign entry in J. W. is from M. Sc. The English part is partly from *H.E.* v, 18, and partly from MS. D, whence J. W. derived the statement that Alhfrid, king of Northumbria, was buried at Driffield, as also the date of his death, which are not mentioned in MSS. A, B or C. In his notice of bishop Hedde J. W. follows *H.E.* v, 18. Bede adds that he died in the reign of king Osred. J. W. puts the death in 705, while all the manuscripts of A.S.C. say that it took place in 703. The account of the division of the West Saxon diocese and the clause about bishop Aldhelm are from *H.E.* v, 18. The death of bishop Seaxwulf, which is not mentioned by Bede, is put by MSS. A, B and C of A.S.C. as it is by J. W. in this year. Plummer says this is a mistake, as he must have died before 692; see Haddon and Stubbs, *Concilia*, iii, 129. It is not mentioned in D, E and F. It doubtless came from C. J. W. alone

gives us the date of Aldhelm's ordination. The last clause is from M. Sc.

706. J. W. here entirely follows M. Sc.

707. The consecration of Bede as priest is from Bede's chronicle, which J. W. had already quoted in 704. Bede in *H.E.* puts it in 702 (see v, 24). This year is blank in all the manuscripts of A.S.C.

708. The first part of this annal is from M. Sc. The second is from *H.E.* v, 19, and largely in Bede's words. The last clause is either from the foundation charter of Evesham abbey or from a life of St. Ecgwin.

709. The first clause is verbatim from *H.E.* v, 19. The second about Aldhelm from *H.E.* v, 18. Of the verses about Wilfrid the first line seems to have been composed by J. W. The other three are in *H.E.* v, 19. The clause about the burial of Wilfrid is from *H.E.* v, 19, that about Acca and Bosa from *H.E.* v, 20, almost in the same words. 'Forthredus' in J. W. in this year should be 'Fortherus' (see Bede, *H.E.* v, 18).

The epitaph of Aldhelm is only given in epitome by J. W. but at full length by Bede. The first line in the former is quite different to that in Bede. Thus Bede, v, 19, says, 'Wilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore praesul,' while in J. W. it reads, 'Wilfridus sanctus meritis et nomine magnus.' J. W. omits the next fifteen lines and the last one. In the seventeenth line he puts 'multis' for 'nimium.'

710. The clause about Berhtfrid is from Bede, *H.E.* v, 24. J. W. adds the words 'regis Osredi' to 'praefectus,' the title given to Berhtfrid by Bede. The struggle of Ine and Nun with Gerent is not in Bede but comes from A.S.C. It must have come from D or E because there alone Nun is called Ine's 'maeg' which J. W. translates 'propinquus.' In the two manuscripts just named the battlefield is said to have been between Haefe and Caer, which is not mentioned in J. W. J. W. adds the words 'victumque in fugam vertere,' which are not in the A.S.C. This points to J. W. having here followed A, B or C, doubtless C. The last clause about abbots Adrian and Albinus is almost verbatim from *H. E.* v, 20. In M.S. A of J. W. there is an additional clause, i.e. 'defuncto Tyrhtello Herefordiae presule, successit Torhtthere.'¹

¹ *M.H.B.* 500, note 5.

711, 712, 713. These annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc.

714. This in J. W. is taken from St. Guthlac's life.

715. The first clause about pope Gregory and archbishop Boniface is from M. Sc. The second about the fight between Ine and Ceolred is from A.S.C. and is the same in MSS. A, B, C, D and E.

716. The first sentence about pope Gregory is from M. Sc. The next one about Ecgberht is from *H.E.* v, 22 and 24. The next about Cenred is also from *H.E.* v, 22 and 24. J. W. says of the latter 'magnifici viri Cuthwini filius,' in which he is alone. The next clause about Ceolred is from A.S.C. where MSS. A, B, C, D and E are alike. The next clause about Aethelbald is in A.S.C. MSS. A, B and C; doubtless it came from C. E and F do not give his family ties. J. W. calls Aethelbald the 'consobrinus' of Ceolred and 'filius Alweonis,' to which he adds the clause 'patruelis scilicet patris sui regis Aethelredi, ut ei prophetico spiritu sanctus praedixerat Guthlacus, regnum nanciscitur.' Aethelbald is not named in Bede. The clause about the burial of Aethelred of Mercia at Bardney in J. W. is also from the A.S.C. where it occurs in MSS. A, B, C, D and E. The last clause about Ceolfrid the abbot is apparently from Bede's *History of the Abbots*.¹

717. The greater part of this annal is from M. Sc. The notice of St. Ecgwin doubtless comes from the life of that saint.

718. This annal in J. W. is extracted from A.S.C. in which all the manuscripts are alike. He calls Ingild Ingels.

719. This annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. The latter has no entries in 720, 721 and 722. J. W. is also vacant in 720.

721. The notice of bishop Daniel's visit to Rome in J. W. and the murder of Cynewulf by Ine are from A.S.C. and are contained in all the manuscripts. The notice of John the archbishop is from *H.E.* v, 6, some of it in his actual words. The notice in A.S.C. MSS. D and E, is longer, and it is curious that he did not take it from them. The date of John's death 'nonis Maii' is only given by J. W. It was probably taken from the book of obits of York. The concluding sentence in the annal, 'Eadfridus

¹ See *M.H.B.* 549, note in margin.

Lindisfarnensis episcopus obiit: cui Mailrosensis abbas et presbiter Aethelwoldus successit,' is entirely J. W.'s own, and probably from the obits at Lindisfarne.

722. The first part of the clause in J. W. is not in Bede but in A.S.C. MSS. A, B, D and E. He continues it by saying 'qui (i.e. Ine) eodem anno cum australibus Saxonibus pugnavit.' This is contained in A, B and C but not in D and E, showing that he had at least two copies of A.S.C. before him, doubtless C and D. In C the annal is put in the year 721. All five manuscripts of A.S.C. contain another sentence not in Florence, namely 'Eald-briht wraeccea gewat on Suðrige and on Suðseaxe.' J. W. here follows MS. A of A.S.C. more closely than the other manuscripts (Plummer, *op. cit.* ii, 39).

723. There is no English entry in J. W. this year. The notice of the Saracens and Bulgars is an epitome of that in M. Sc. under the year 719. M. Sc. has also a notice of archbishop Boniface this year, which is not in the English writers. It runs thus:

Juramentum sancti Scotti archiepiscopi Bonifatii (*Conc.* iii, p. 1857) in ecclesia sancti Petri apostoli coram papa Gregorio ii, imperatoris Leonis anno 6 sed et Constantini imperatoris filii ejus.

The introduction of the word Scotti here is a mistake.

724. This annal is vacant in J. W. and also in M. Sc. Both 723 and 724 are vacant in A.S.C.

725. The first part of this annal follows A.S.C. in MSS. D and E, and is much longer than those in A, B and C. That it was D which J. W. followed is shown by his account of the duration of the reign of Wihtred as 34 and not 33 years, as in E. The latter part of the entry dealing with some of Bede's computations is from M. Sc. who himself follows Bede in his chronicle.

726. This annal is from *H.E.* v, 23. J. W. completely ignores the entries of A.S.C. in this year, while MSS. D and E report the events dated by J. W. in 726 as taking place in 727. M. Sc. is vacant this year.

727. The only entry in J. W. this year is from the marginal gloss in M. Sc. about the cycle. M. Sc. himself has the following interesting entry not in J. W.:

Alia epistola ejusdem papae Gregorii secundi ad Bonifatium (*Conc.* iii, p. 1858) data 10 kal. Decembris, imperii Leonis anno 10 sed et Constantini regni anno 8 indictione decima, et reliq.

728. The account of the visit of Ine to Rome and his death as given by J. W. is in the same Latin words as in *H.E.* v, 7. The succession of Aethelhard mentioned by J. W. is not given in Bede but is in A.S.C. There it is dated in 728 in A and B but in 726 in C, D, E and F. The fight between Aethelhard and Oswald the aetheling, together with the latter's pedigree, are given in A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C and D but not in E or F. D omits (evidently by mistake) the clause 'se æðeling and se Oswald'—this is no doubt a scribe's mistake, due to the repetition of Oswald in the sentence.

729. The first clause in this annal in J. W. is from Bede and in the same words, but Bede adds other details (*H.E.* v, 23). The clause about St. Egbert is also epitomized from Bede, *H.E.* v, 22, with some words alike in both. The next clause about the death of Osric and the succession of Ceolwulf is also from Bede with identical words (*H.E.* v, 23). MSS. A, B and C of A.S.C. put the death of Osric in 731, D and E in 729 like J. W. The pedigree of Ceolwulf, however, is taken from A.S.C. also in 731, where, however, it occurs in A, B, C and D. J. W. makes Cuthwine the son of Ecgwald, while A.S.C. inserts another name, i.e. Leodwald, between them.

730. The death of the aetheling Oswald is not in Bede. It is given in J. W. and is from A.S.C. MSS. D or E. It is not in B and C, but is in A perhaps an insertion.

731. The death of archbishop Berhtwald in J. W. is told in the same words as in *H.E.* v, 23. The death of pope Gregory II is from M. Sc. The account of the English sees in 731 is taken over bodily by J. W. from *H.E.* v, 23. J. W. however gives the names of the bishops of the East Angles as Eadbert and Hathulac, while Bede gives them "Aldberct et Hadulac." J. W. says that the year 731 was about (circiter) 282 years after the coming of the Saxons, while Bede says it was about 285 years. The last sentence in J. W. occurs nowhere else. It reads thus: 'Britones magna ex parte Anglorum servitio mancipati fuere.'

Bede's Ecclesiastical History ends with this year, which is therefore a notable date in the history of the text of J. W.

732. In this year J. W. follows M. Sc.

733. The first part of this annal in J. W. giving details

about the eclipse of the sun is verbatim from the appendix to Bede, except that J. W. says 'xviii kal. Septembris' while the appendix has 'xix,' i.e. 14th August, which is right. The second sentence about the Saracens and the translation of St. Augustine's remains by Liutbrand come from M. Sc. where the story is distributed between the annals of 733 and 735. It is omitted in all the later printed editions of J. W. The sentence about Acca being driven from his see is given in the year 731 in the appendix to Bede, but is put in 733 by J. W. and in MSS. D, E and F of A.S.C. The other manuscripts do not mention it.

734. The first sentence about the moon turning red is verbatim from the appendix to Bede. The second about Tatwine is probably from the same work. It is also mentioned, however, in A.S.C. in all the manuscripts. J. W. however, alone gives the death day as 'iii kal. Augusti.' The succession of Nothelm as archbishop, which is put in this year by J. W. is mentioned in the appendix to Bede in 735. The A.S.C. does not mention it.

The laudation of Bede's character is not given in A.S.C. and is J. W.'s own composition. Bede's death is very baldly told in 735 in the appendix to *H.E.* while all the manuscripts of A.S.C. give it in 734. J. W. alone gives the day and month, i.e. the 8th of the kalends of June, together with the long appreciation already referred to.

735. This annal in J. W. is from the appendix to Bede, which does not, however, mention the death of Pecthelm but only the appointment of his successor. It is not in the A.S.C. and probably comes from the book of obits at Whithern.

736. Nothelm's reception of the pall comes from A.S.C. where it is mentioned in all the manuscripts, without, however, the addition of pope Gregory as its sender, as in J. W.

737. This is from A.S.C. where it occurs in all the copies. J. W. alone, however, calls Forther 'episcopus Scireburnensis ecclesiae.' M. Sc. has the sentence 'Beda computator obiit 2 kal. Jun.' This is put in 734 in J. W.

738. The first clause about pope Gregory's insertion of a new sentence in the service of the mass is from M. Sc. J. W.'s sentence about Ceolwulf's resignation of the kingdom of Northumbria and becoming a monk is from the

appendix to Bede. The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. MSS. D or E. J. W. merely adds the words 'rex Northumbrorum' to the name Ceolwulf, and the words 'Eatae scilicet filio' to the mention of Eadberht.

739. The obits of bishops Aethelwald and Acca, reported in J. W. are also mentioned in A.S.C. MSS. D and E, but under the year 737. J. W. calls the former bishop of Lindisfarne and the latter of Hexham. This is not in the chronicle. J. W. says that Aethelwald was succeeded by Cynewulf, and Acca by Fritheberht. Cynewulf's succession is mentioned in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. but Fritheberht's is not so named. His name, without mention of his see, occurs as ordained in 735 in the appendix to Bede, but see note to *M.H.B.* 288 as to whether he was not bishop of the Hwiccas.

740. This annal is vacant in J. W. M. Sc. says that pope Gregory's third letter to Boniface the Scot, archbishop of Mainz, was dated on the 24th kal. November in this year. 'Scot' is of course a mistake.

741. The cycle mentioned this year by J. W. is dated in 740 in M. Sc. The next clauses about the emperor Leo and Charles, son of Pepin, are from M. Sc. 741. The death of Aethelhard is from A.S.C. In MSS. A and B it is dated in 741 and in C, D, E and F in 740. The obit of Nothelm is contained in the appendix to Bede, which puts it in 739. J. W. adds the death-day 'xvi kal. Novembris.' The succession of archbishop Cuthberht is from the same source but is by him put in 740. In A.S.C. it is in 741 in A and B and in 740 in C, D, E and F. In MS. A of J. W. there is a gloss to the notice of the 'translation' of Cuthberht saying 'cui in episcopatum Herefordensem Podda successit' (*M.H.B.* p. 543, note 2). J. W. says of Cuthberht 'qui quintus erat Herefordensis episcopus.' The succession of Dunn as bishop of Rochester is from A.S.C. It is in all the manuscripts. The death of his predecessor is alone given by J. W. His words are 'mortuo quoque episcopo Aldulfo.'

742. This annal is from M. Sc.

743. The first clause in J. W. is from A.S.C. It occurs in MSS. A, B, C, D and E. The second one containing the obit of Wilfrid, bishop of the Hwiccas, and the succession of Milred is doubtless from the Worcester records.

It cannot be traced beyond J. W. The clause about Boniface is from M. Sc. and that about the falling stars is given in A.S.C. in 744. M. Sc. mentions two letters from pope Zacharias to archbishop Boniface not in J. W.

744. The entry about Boniface is from M. Sc. That about Wilfrid the younger is from A.S.C.¹ It is found only in D and E. In the appendix to Bede and in Simeon of Durham it is dated in 745 and not 744. J. W. calls him 'Eboracensis ecclesiae pontifex.'²

The resignation of Daniel and the succession of Hunfrid to the see of Winchester are named in the A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C, D and E. In E the new bishop is called Unferd instead of Hunfrid. The mention of falling stars is from the chronicle and is in D and E only.

745. The foreign clause is from M. Sc. where it is divided between 745 and 747. The obit of bishop Daniel is from A.S.C. With MSS. A, B, C and D, J. W. makes him reign 'about' forty-three years, but E says forty-six, As J. W. puts his accession in 705 with Bede (*H.E.* v, 18) we must correct J. W. to 747 or 748.

746. This is from A.S.C. All the manuscripts agree.

747. This year is vacant in J. W.

748. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next is from A.S.C. and all the manuscripts agree. J. W. translates 'aetheling' by 'clito.' Aethelberht's succession, as given in J. W. only occurs in MS. A of A.S.C. in an interpolation and not in the text. Whence the interpolator got it I know not. In it he is called 'Wihtrede's sunu'; in J. W. he is called the brother of Eadberht.

749. This is from M. Sc.

750. The first clause is from M. Sc. The passage is a notable one, and has given rise to controversy but seems well attested. It reads 'Pippinus decreto Zachariae papae, a Bonifacio Moguntino archiepiscopo unguitur in impera-

¹ The existence of two bishops, one at York and the other at Worcester, at this time, both called Wilfrid, must have caused confusion. In the appendix to Bede the obit of one who is merely styled 'episcopus Wilfrid' is given in 745—which of the two this refers to we cannot determine, but York seems to be meant.

² He is also called 'bishop of York' in A.S.C. See Dixon and Raine, *Lives of*

the Archbishops of York, 93. The suggestion that he resigned the see of York in 732 and died in 744 or 745 is probably right. The obit in Bede's appendix is much more likely to refer to him than to the Hwiccan bishop; and J. W. who had given the death of the latter in 743, was not likely to confound him with the York Wilfrid II. I owe this note to my friend Mr. Hamilton Thompson.

torem, et ob id post papam secundus habetur episcopus Moguntinus.' This really meant transferring the crown of the Franks to another dynasty. The second clause comes from A.S.C. where all the manuscripts are alike.

751. This is from M. Sc.

The obits of the two popes are from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. Only D and E call Aethelbald king of the Mercians, as J. W. does, but E has the number 22 where J. W. and all the other manuscripts have 12. This entry must therefore have come from D.

753. The earlier part is from M. Sc. The rest is like A.S.C. in all the manuscripts. J. W. adds a clause of his own namely 'ex eis quamplurimos interfecit.'

754. The first clause is from M. Sc. The second is from A.S.C. but J. W. adds that Sigiberht's father was Sigeric. In all the manuscripts of the A.S.C. the sentence about Hunferth or Hunfrid, bishop of Winchester, has been put between the notice of the death of Sigiberht and the accession of his successor. In J. W. this is set right. The latter translates the Saxon 'maeg' by 'propinquus.' (cf. 710 above). The rest of the annal in J. W. is in all the copies of A.S.C.

755. The first clause about archbishop Boniface is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. and is much epitomised by J. W. MS. E has an important lacuna showing it could not have been a source of J. W. at this place. J. W. calls the Seccandune of A.S.C. Segeswalde. Speaking of the death of Beornred the tyrant J. W. adds, 'successit in regnum nepos patruelis Aethelbaldi regis Merciorum Offa.' I do not know whence he got it. He gives the pedigree of Offa as in A.S.C. MSS. A, B and C. D and E only give the name of the father. The name given as Eoppa in the text of J. W. is written Eawa in the A.S.C. and Eowa in the genealogies at the end of J. W. The entry doubtless came from C. In MS. A of J. W. we have Wibba for Pybba.¹ This comes doubtless from the easy confusion between W and P in Saxon writing. The same manuscript adds the entry 'Defuncto Licetfeldensi praesule successit Hemele' (ibid. note 3).

756. This annal is entirely from M. Sc.

757. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next is from

¹ See *M.H.B.* 544, note 2.

the appendix to Bede almost verbatim. There, however, it is divided between 757 and 758. The death-day of Oswulf is not given in the appendix just named. It comes from A.S.C. where it is found only in MSS. D and E. In D it is dated on the 8th of the kalends of August, in E and J. W. on the 9th.

758. The first clause is from M. Sc. The death of archbishop Cuthberht is from A.S.C. Plummer, quoting Theopold, says the true year was 760. J. W. adds his death-day 'vii kal. Nov.' doubtless from the obits at Christ Church, Canterbury. He also adds from some other source which I cannot trace (perhaps it comes from a lost charter), 'His temporibus orientalibus Saxonibus Swithredus, australibus Saxonibus Osmundus, orientalibus Anglis Beornus reges prae fuerunt.'

759. The first clause is from M. Sc. The death of archbishop Breogwin is from A.S.C. and is in all the manuscripts. Here again, quoting Theopold, Plummer says the true year is 761. The accession of Moll Aethelwald to the kingdom of Northumbria is only in D, E and F. D has two verbal errors in Thorpe's edition.

760. The notes about the cycle and about Pepin's invasion of Gascony are from M. Sc. The next entries are from A.S.C. where they occur only in D and E. J. W. adds about Ceolwulf 'rex Northimbrorum quondam gloriosissimus.' At the end of this annal in MS. A of J. W. we read 'Defuncto Hemele Licetfeldensi episcopo, successit Cuthfridus.'¹

761. The first clause is from M. Sc. The English entry is from MS. D or E of A.S.C. J. W. adds the date of Oswin's death, viz. 'viii idus Augusti,' and styles him Oswin 'clitonem quondam nobilissimum,' which are additions of his own.

762. In the first clause J. W. follows M. Sc. verbatim. MS. F is the only copy of A.S.C. which mentions the death of archbishop Breogwin. J. W. alone gives the day and month of his death, and tells us that Jaenberht was abbot of St. Augustine's. The succession of the latter to the archbishopric is mentioned in A.S.C. MSS. A, D, E and F, but not in B and C. It is probable that J. W. took the whole entry from the list of obits at Canterbury.

¹ *M.H.B.* 544, note 4.

763. The elevation of Jaenbryht is in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. with the actual day, namely, the fortieth day after midwinter. J. W. also calls him 'sancti Augustini abbas,' and gives the date as at the feast of the Purification, viz. 2nd Feb.

In A.S.C. MSS. B and C Jaenbryht's name is spelt Eadbriht, showing J. W. has copied from A, D or E, doubtless from D. A, B and C give the year as 763, D, E and F as 762. The death of Frithewold of Whithern and the accession of Pechtwin as given by J. W. are given in MSS. D, E and F with greater details. They are not named in A, B or C.

764. The annal about the giving of the pall to Jaenbryht is not mentioned in A.S.C. MSS. D and E, and only in A, B, C and F. In B he is called Eanbreht, and in C Eadberht. The name of the pope (Stephen) and the fact that he was 'germanus' or brother of his predecessor are given in J. W. alone. Plummer says, quoting Theopold, that the true date is probably 766.

765. The obit of the Northumbrian king Moll Aethelwald, as given in J. W. is not directly mentioned in A.S.C. in this year; but in 759, where his accession is entered, he is said to have reigned six winters. The succession of Alhred, however, is mentioned both in J. W. and MSS. D, E and F of A.S.C. as it is in the continuation of Bede, whence J. W. may have taken it. Alhred is called Alchred in MS. D of the chronicle and Alhred in E and F, and by Simeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury. He is not named in MSS. A, B and C of A.S.C. J. W. has an additional clause giving Alhred's genealogy, which is not in any copy of A.S.C. Whence he derived it I do not know. His version is: 'Alhredus filius Eanwini successit, qui fuit Byrnhom, qui fuit Bofa, qui fuit Bleacman, qui fuit Ailric, qui fuit Ida.' Ailric is written Ealric in MS. A and Earic in MS. B.¹ In referring to this pedigree Simeon of Durham says 'ut quidam dicunt.'

766. The first clause is from M. Sc. The death of archbishop Ecgerht is mentioned in the continuation of Bede but without the month and day, both of which

¹ See *M.H.B.* 544, note 7.

occur in A.S.C. MSS. D and E and in J. W. but in the latter it is dated the 14th and not the 13th kal. Dec. as in A.S.C. With this year the continuation of Bede comes to an end. It is noteworthy that in the years 765-771 there are no entries in MSS. A, B and C of A.S.C. It is curious that there should be so much difficulty about the name of Alhred's successor as king of Northumbria. J. W. in his text calls him Ethelbert, as do MSS. D, E and F of A.S.C. In his genealogy of the kings of Deira he calls him, 'Ethelbertus quiet Adelredus,' so does William of Malmesbury. From his correspondence with Alcuin it seems he was also called Coena. He is also so called in the list of archbishops attached to J. W.'s chronicle. It further seems that it was the deposed king Ethelbert who became archbishop a few months later.

767. This annal is entirely from M. Sc.

768. The obit of pope Paul is from M. Sc. The next annal is from A.S.C. MSS. D or E. D agrees with J. W. in making the length of Eadberht's reign thirteen years instead of fourteen as in E. J. W. adds some words of flattery about him and says he was buried 'in eadem porticu' (i.e. in the same porch or aisle, not necessarily in the same grave) as his brother archbishop Ecgberht. The last clause is from M. Sc.

769 and 770. These annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc. in the ordinary text of J. W. In MS. A there is a gloss in another hand in 769, viz. 'defuncto Cuthfrido Licetfeldensi episcopo successit Berhtunus.'

771. This is vacant in J. W.

772. The clause about Carlomanus is put in 770 in M. Sc. The death of pope Stephen is given by the same author in 769 and the notice of pope Adrian is similarly put in 770. In MS. A of J. W. in another hand is the gloss 'Sigga Sealesiensis ecclesiae praesule defuncto successit Alubrihtus.'

773. This clause in J. W. is divided between 773 and 774 in M. Sc.

774. The first clause about the cross in the sky is from A.S.C. It is in all the copies, as is that about the fight at Ottenford and the serpents seen in Sussex, but these are dated in 773 in A and B. The rest of the annal is in D, E and F. J. W. calls Alhred 'Alhredum Molli regis

successorem,' and tells us that he was expelled. He was succeeded by Moll's son Aethelberht, but in A.S.C. MSS. D, E and F, and also in Simeon of Durham he is called Aethelred (see Thorpe, *F. of W.* p. 59, note 5).

775. This clause is not in any of the MSS. of A.S.C. and was probably derived from the list of obits at Worcester.

776. The foreign entry of this annal is entirely from M. Sc. who, however, dates it in 775. The death of Pehtwine is taken from the A.S.C. where it only occurs in MSS. D, E and F. J. W. calls him 'praesul Candidae Casae.'

777. This entry in J. W. comes from MS. D or E of A.S.C. A, B and C are all vacant. A.S.C. MSS. D, E and F put Pehtwine's death in 776, which Plummer argues is the more probable date.

778. The first clause about Charles the Great's war in Spain is from M. Sc. where it is dated in 777. The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. MS. D or E, except the obit of bishop Weremund of the Hwicci and the succession of Tilhere, which doubtless came from the Worcester list of obits. They date the events, however, in 777.

779. The first clause about the cycle is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is contained in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. but entered by them in 780; there is no entry in A, B or C for this year. That it was taken from D is plain, as the latter, like J. W. calls the bishop Cynewulf and not Cynebald, as E does. The consecration of Higbald to Lindisfarne is dated in this year in J. W. but in 780 in D, E and F in the chronicle.

780. The whole of this annal is from M. Sc.

781. The obit of Tilhere, bishop of the Hwicci, and the accession of Heathored are doubtless from the obit book at Worcester and are not in the A.S.C. The death of Aethelberht, archbishop of York, and the succession of Eanbald, which are only given in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. are there entered in 779. The conquest of Saxony by Charles the Great is from M. Sc. The synod at Aclea which is only given in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. is entered in them in 782. The obits of Kinewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, and Wereburga, the widow of the Mercian king Ceolred, are also entered in the same manuscripts of A.S.C. in 782. Wereburga's obit is put by Simeon of Durham

in 783. It is curious that her relationship to the royal house should not be mentioned in the text of J. W. and only, as we shall see, in the appendices (see Thorpe's ed. 252 and 265). In MS. A of J. W. there is a gloss about Eanbald, reading 'qui fuit discipulus Alchwini magistri Karoli imperatoris.' I do not know whence it came.

782 and 783. These two annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc. In 782 there is a further gloss in MS. A of J. W. viz. 'defuncto Herewaldo Sciraburnensis ecclesiae praesule.'¹ In 783 in MS. A we have the gloss 'defuncto Totta Leogorensi praesule Eadberht successit.'²

784. This annal in J. W. is very long. Except for some rhetorical touches, it is like the entries in A.S.C. MSS. D and E, where, by an extraordinary mistake, it is entered in the year 755, a fact which shows that these manuscripts were compiled long after the event. The same entry occurs in Latin in the chronicle of Ethelward, but the Latin there is different from that in J. W.

785. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is contained in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. J. W. calls the synod 'Cealchithe synodus,' and says of the place where it was held 'qui lingua Anglorum Cealchithe dicitur.' He calls the synod 'litigiosa.' Chelsea, according to Lingard, was called Chelcethe as late as the end of the fifteenth century. Simeon of Durham dates this synod in 787.

786. This annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss 'defuncto Podda Herefordensi episcopo successit Ecca.'³

787. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. D and E mention that the Danes came from Heretha land, which is not in J. W. J. W. translates 'gerefa' by 'praepositus.' In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss 'defuncto Higberto Licetfeldensi episcopo successit Aldulfus.'⁴

788. This clause is in A.S.C. MSS. D and E but not in A, B and C. D has Wincanheale and E has Pincanheale, really Finchale, a common scribe's blunder between W and P in A.S. script. J. W. agrees with D. In MS. A of

¹ M.H.B. 455, 5.

² M.H.B. p. 545, note 7.

³ M.H.B. 586, 2.

⁴ M.H.B. 546, 2.

J. W. is the gloss 'defuncto Kynehardo Wintoniae presule Aethelhardus ex abbate Meldunae successit.'¹

789. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. MS. D or E. It is not in A, B or C.

790. Here again the first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is in MSS. D and E of A.S.C. but J. W. calls Aethelred the brother of Alfwold, while A.S.C. calls him his son.

791. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is from A.S.C. MSS. D, E or F. J. W. spells the name Baldwulf, 'Beadwulf.'

792. Here again the first clause is from M. Sc. and the rest from A.S.C. in which it occurs in all the manuscripts, but J. W. adds the words 'innocenter sub foedere.'

793. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next one, about the death of Aethelberht, king of the West Saxons, is an amplification of A.S.C. MS. D or E. J. W. alone says it was brought about by Cynethritha, the wife of Offa. J. W. styles him 'gloriosissimus ac sanctissimus . . . vero regi Christo bonorum virtutum merito acceptabilis omnibus blando alloquio affabilis.' The ordination of Aethelhard in this year is only in J. W. The six manuscripts of A.S.C. say he was created archbishop from being an abbot in 790. J. W. alone gives us the day, namely the 12th of the kalends of August.

794. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. All the rest of the annal, except the last clause, is in A.S.C. MSS. D and E, but J. W. dates the murder of Aethelred on the 3rd of the kalends of May, while the two chronicles put it on the 13th. D has Wren for Pren caused by the common confusion between W and P (cf. 788 above). The succession of Kenulf is only in J. W. He says of him 'vir magnificus et sancta sobole foelix; qui in pace justitia et pietate regni gubernacula rexit.' Ceolwulf was bishop of Lindsey and not Lindisfarne as J. W. wrongly says: see Plummer, A.S.C. ii, 63.

795. This clause is from M. Sc. In MS. A, J. W. has the gloss 'Alubrihto Sealesiensi episcopo defuncto hii successerunt Bosa, etc.'² This is from William of Malmesbury. In the list of Selsey bishops at the end of J. W. Bosa is called Osa.

¹ M.H.B. 546, 3.

² M.H.B. 346, note 5.

796. This annal except the last clause is from M. Sc. The latter is from A.S.C. MS. D or E, and in fact in all the manuscripts Kenulf is called Ceolwulf, which was doubtless wrong. In manuscripts it has been corrected to Cynulf. The mistake is probably due to the fact that his successor was Ceolwulf. Ethelward also says Ceolf (Plummer, A.S.C. ii, 65). In MS. A is the gloss 'defuncto Eadberto Legecestrensi episcopo successit Unwona.'¹

797. This entry in J. W. is from M.Sc.

798. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next clause is probably taken from some life of St. Wihtburga. It reads thus: 'Corpus sanctae Wihtburgae virginis, filiae Annae regis Orientalium Anglorum, et sororis sanctarum virginum Sexburgae Aethelburgae ac Aetheldrythae, sine corruptione interitum est, post annos fere lv, ex quo apud villam quae Dyrham vocatur humatum est.' The death of Heathored, bishop of the Hwicci, and the succession of Deneberht are doubtless from the obits at Worcester. MSS. A, B and C of A.S.C. are vacant this year. No part of the annal about Wihtburga contained in J. W. is in MSS. D and E of the chronicle, but an epitome of it occurs in a gloss in F, perhaps taken from J. W.

799. This annal is in all the manuscripts of A.S.C. but in E archbishop Aethelhardus is called Aethelred, which is wrong, and shows that J. W. did not take it from E. J. W. calls Kineberht bishop of Winchester (Wentanae civitatis pontifex). In A.S.C. he is styled bishop of the West Saxons.

800. The foreign part of this annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. J. W. does not mention the eclipse of the moon which is mentioned in MSS. D, E, F of A.S.C. The death of Alhmund son of Alhred, king of Northumbria, is not in A.S.C. The *Gesta Regum* generally quoted as by Simeon of Durham says it was brought about by order of king Eardwulf.² The rest of the annal is from A.S.C. and is in all the manuscripts, but J. W. spells the name Cynemaeresforda Cymeresford. He omits the death of Worr the ealdorman which is in MSS. A, B, C, D and E of A.S.C. and he calls Aethelmund 'dux de Mercia,' while

¹ M.H.B. 546, 6.

² M.H.B. 671.

MSS. A, B, C, D and E of the A.S.C. call him ealdorman of the Hwiccas.

801. This annal in J. W. is entirely from M. Sc.

802. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next entry about bishop Higbald and the succession of Ecgberht are given in D and E of the chronicle but not in A, B and C; but J. W. alone mentions that Ecgberht was consecrated by Eanbald, archbishop of York. The succession of Beornmod to the see of Rochester is in all the chronicles. In D it is duplicated in 801 and 802.

803. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is in all the chronicles.

804. The visit of pope Leo to France is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is also in all the chronicles.

805. The greater part of this annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. The last clause, about the obits of king Cuthred, the ealdorman Heabryht, and the abbess Coelburh, is in all the chronicles. J. W. alone calls her abbess of 'Beorclea,' i.e. Berkeley in Gloucestershire.

806-811. These annals in J. W. all come from M. Sc. There are no entries in the chronicles in the years from 807 to 812. From the year 806 to 867 there is no reference to Northumbrian affairs in J. W. except a single entry in the year 827. This corresponds to a similar hiatus in Simeon of Durham.

812. This annal in J. W. comes from the chronicle in which the copies A, B, C, D and E are alike. Florence, however, calls Wibert, i.e. Wigbrecht, 'Scireburnensis ecclesiae praesul,' while the chronicle calls him 'West Seaxna bisceop.'

813. The greater part of this long annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. The penultimate clause alone is from the chronicle, in which all the manuscripts are alike. The last short clause is also from M. Sc. J. W. translates 'West Wealas' by 'Occidentales Britones.'

814 and 815 in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc.

816. The victory of Louis over the Slavs and the death of pope Leo are from M. Sc. In MS. A of J. W. we have a gloss 'defuncto Wigberhto Scireburnensi praesule, successit.'¹ In regard to the burning of the English

¹ *M.H.B.* 547, note 3.

school at Rome MSS. A, B, C and D also put it in 816, E in 815 and F in 817. Anastasius de Vit. Pont. under Paschal I and in the year 817 says: 'per quorundam gentis desidiam, ita est omnis illorum habitatio quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur . . . combusta, ut nec vestigia pristinae habitationis inveniri potuissent . . . Unde . . . ter beatissimus pastor, considerans illorum peregrinorum inopiam . . . necessaria . . . omnia subministrabat.' (Mun. SS. Rer. Ital. iii, 1, 214; Plummer, op. cit. ii, 69).

817. This annal in J. W. comes from M. Sc.

818. J. W. has no entry this year.

819. The first clause is from M. Sc. The obit of king Cenwulf of Mercia is in all the chronicles. J. W. calls him 'sanctus Kenulfus.' The next clause is not in the chronicles, which all make Cenwulf be succeeded by Ceolwulf. J. W. on the other hand interpolates between them the reign of St. Kenelm, to whom he assigns a reign of seven years. This interpolation is doubtless from the life of St. Kenelm. He is not mentioned in the A.S.C. The last clause about the obit of bishop Ecgberht of Lindisfarne, and the succession of Heathored, is not in the chronicles and doubtless came from the obits at Lindisfarne.

820. This annal in J. W. is all from M. Sc.

821. The expulsion of Ceolwulf, king of Mercia, is mentioned in the five chronicles, but the succession of Beornwulf is only in J. W.

822. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The death of the two ealdormen who are styled 'duces robustissimi' by J. W. and the synod at Cloveshoo are also in the five chronicles. The obit of bishop Deneberht of the Hwicci and the succession of Heaberht are only in J. W. and doubtless come from the Worcester obits.

823. The first clause is from M. Sc. The greater part of the rest of the annal is in all the chronicles. J. W. adds to 'Ellandune' the gloss 'id est in monte Ealle,' and says that Alhstan was bishop of Sherborne: the chronicle calls him his biscop (i.e. Ecgberht's). J. W. adds the italicised part of the following clause to that in the chronicle: 'ex cujus propinquorum manibus primus exorti, extraneorum regum ditioni per aliquot annorum curricula inviti sunt subacti.' J. W. alone mentions the succession

of Ludecan whom he calls Beornulf's 'propinquus.' In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Adulfo Licetfeldensi episcopo successit Herewinus.'¹

824. This annal in J. W. is entirely from M. Sc.

825. The first sentence is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is from the chronicle, but J. W. adds that Ludecan had marched his army into East Anglia to punish those who had killed his predecessor Beornwulf.

826. This annal is entirely from M. Sc. The chronicle has no entry this year. In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss 'defuncto Ecca Herefordensi episcopo, successit Caedda.'²

827. The first sentence is from M. Sc. The lunar eclipse dated this year by the chronicler and J. W. really occurred on 25th December, 828.³ In the account of the conquest of Mercia J. W. adds that Ecgbert drove out Wiglaf king of the Mercians. The next clause about Northumbria is from the chronicle. It is the only notice in J. W. from 806.

Then follows a recapitulation of Bede's account of the Bretwaldas, which is essentially the same in J. W. and the chronicle. Of Eadwin he adds, however, that he ruled over the country north of the Humber and those who occupied Britannia, including the Anglians and the peoples of the Britons, except only the Cantuarii, together with the Mevanian islands of the Britons lying between Hibernia and Britannia. Of Oswy J. W. adds that he conquered the greater part of the Picts and Scots who held the northern borders of Britain and made them tributary. Florence also adds an interesting passage, about St. Swithun, which was doubtless derived from some life of the saint. It reads thus: 'Ecgbertus cujus ut fertur regni tempore ortus est beatus Swithunus nobili parentum stirpe. Qui transactis annis puerilibus, a sancto Helmstano praesule Wintonensis ecclesiae sacris est gradibus insignitus, cui rex etiam Ecgbertus filium suum commendavit Aethelulfum literis sacris erudiendum.'

828. The first clause in this annal is from M. Sc. The greater part of the rest is from the chronicle. The obit of bishop Heathored of Lindisfarne and the succession

¹ M.H.B. 548, 1.

² M.H.B. 548, 2.

³ See Plummer, *Two Saxon Chron.* ii, 72.

of Ecgred are only in J. W. It is still more curious that J. W. who is very rich in notices of obits, omits that of a bishop in this year. This must have been an oversight. He is called Aethelwald in A, Aethelwold in B and C, and Aethelbald in D and E of the chronicle.

829. The greater part of this annal is from M. Sc. The obit of archbishop Wulfred is from the chronicle, which is here alike in all copies.

830. This annal is in all the manuscripts of the chronicle.

831. This annal is entirely from M. Sc. partly from the text and partly from a marginal gloss.

832. The first clause is a paraphrase of M. Sc. J. W. gives the names of the emperor's two sons which are omitted by the latter. The sentence about the Danes in J. W. reads 'Danici piratae, inhiatores praedae, Scapege depraedati sunt.' In the chronicle it reads: 'Her haeðene menn oferhergeadon Sceopege' in five copies.

833. The foreign notice is from M. Sc. It unites the two entries for 833 and 834 in the one annal. In regard to the English entry J. W. like MSS. A, B and C, gives thirty-five as the number of the ships, while in D, E and F it is twenty-five. J. W. has here doubtless followed C.

834. This year is vacant in J. W.

835. The earlier part of this annal is from M. Sc. The rest is, like the chronicle, in all its manuscripts. J. W. glosses 'West Wealas' by 'terra quae Curvalia (i.e. Cornwall) vocatur' and glosses 'Hengestesdune' by 'Mons Hengisti.' MS. A of J. W. has the gloss 'defuncto Unwona Legerecensi episcopo, successit Waerenberhtus.'¹

836. The first phrase about the cycle is from M. Sc. The rest, like the chronicle, is as in MSS. A, B and C, but J. W. calls Athelstane 'the son of Aethelwulf' and not 'the other son' as in D, E and F. He probably derived the annal from C.

837. This in J. W. is like the chronicle in four of its manuscripts, except that he makes the number of the Danish ships thirty-four. In this he agrees with C against the rest, which have thirty-three. The concluding clause is only in J. W. It is about St. Helmstan's death and the

¹ M.H.B. 549, 1.

succession of St. Swithun, and probably comes from a life of the latter saint.

838. The first phrase is from M. Sc. the rest from the chronicle A, B, C or D. Curiously enough it is not in E. It was doubtless taken by J. W. from C, since in D the ealdorman is called Ecgbriht and not Herebryht as in A, B and C, and also in J. W. The clause regarding the obit of king Wiglaf and the succession of Beorhtulf is not in the chronicle and only in J. W. who in a later page says Wiglaf was buried at Repton. I cannot trace these statements beyond him.

839. The first clause about the eclipse is from M. Sc. There is a mistake in both as to the date. It really happened on 5th May, 840. The rest of the annal is from A, B, D, or E, and probably from D. In C the town is called Cantwarabirig and identified with Canterbury and not Cwantawic or Cantic as in the other copies, which are right, since the place meant was Quantovic near Etaples, where Prudentius mentions a Danish attack in 842.

840. The earlier parts of the annal are from M. Sc. The dates of the chronicle are four years wrong at this time (see Plummer, ii, 76). The English part of the annal as in A, B, C, D and E. This is followed in J. W. by a long notice of Theodulf, abbot of Fleury and bishop of Orléans, a famous poet, theologian and scholar at the court of Charles the great. Whence it comes and why it is here I know not.

841-844. These annals are entirely from M. Sc.

843. MS. A of J. W. has the gloss 'defuncto Herewino Licetfeldensi antistite, Oethelwald successit.'

845. The greater part of the annal in J. W. is like the chronicle. It calls one of the two earls who fought at Pedruda Eanulf like A, B and C, and not Earnwulf as D, E and F. The obit of Ecgreg, bishop of Lindisfarne and successor of Eanberht, is given by J. W. but is not in the chronicle, and doubtless came from the Lindisfarne records.

846. This is entirely from M. Sc.

847. This is vacant in J. W.

848. The obit of Heaberht, bishop of the Hwiccii, and the succession of Alhun, are alone given by A of J. W. This year is vacant in all the chronicles, so are 849 and 850.

849. With this year we begin a number of entries from the pseudo-Asser's 'Life of king Alfred,' which occupy a considerable space in J. W. and form a useful secondary guide to the text of that document. In the pedigree of Alfred in J. W. there are some variants from the printed Asser which omits Esla between Esela and Gewis and Wig, Freawine and Fredegar between Gewis and Brand, unites Finn and Godwulf (which are given separately by J. W.) into Fingodwulf, and omits Jared from the list of patriarchs. J. W. writes 'Eoppe' for 'Eowwa' and 'Seth' for 'Sem' the son of Noe in the pseudo-Asser. The Latin text in J. W. is the same as the pseudo-Asser in this extract, but the verse from Sedulius is omitted.

850. This annal in Florence was doubtless from a life of St. Wistan. It reads thus: 'Kalendis Junii (which rather agrees with 849) vigilia Pentecostes Berhtferthus filius regis Merciorum Berhtulfi, suum cognatum injuste peremit sanctum Wistanum. Hic itaque nepos duorum exstitit regum Merciorum: nam pater ejus Wigmundus, Wiglafi regis filius, mater vero Aelfleda Ceoluulfi regis exstitit filia. Corpus autem filii ad monasterium tunc temporis famosum, quod Reopedun nominatur, delatum, in mausoleo avi sui Wiglafi est tumulatum. Sed illius martyrio coelestia non defuere miracula. Nam de loco in quo innocenter peremptum est columna lucis que ad coelum porrecta, omnibus ejusdem loci incolis per xxx dies conspicua stabat.' All the chronicles are vacant this year. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Waerenberto Legenrensi praesule, Rethhunus successit.'¹

851. The first sentence is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal follows the pseudo-Asser almost verbatim. J. W. says the pagans wintered at Scapege, for the first time agreeing with the pseudo-Asser and the annals of St. Neot. MSS. D and E of the chronicle say Tenet (Thanet). A and F do not mention either place.

852. The obit of Beorhtwulf, king of Mercia, and the succession of Burgred are neither in pseudo-Asser nor in the chronicle. J. W. is wrong, however, in calling it the thirteenth year of his reign.

853. The obit of pope Leo is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is the same as in the pseudo-Asser.

¹ M.H.B. 550, 3.

It is notable that A.S.C. in all copies has 'Nord Wealas' here where J. W. and the pseudo-Asser have 'Mediterranei Britones'; the latter glosses the words 'qui inter Merciam et mare occidentale habitant.'

854. The obit of Ecgberht, bishop of Lindisfarne, and the succession of Eardwulf are peculiar to J. W.

855. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal except one or two clauses is from the pseudo-Asser which is, however, epitomised, parts of the original being omitted. Parts of this annal in the pseudo-Asser again, all of which are put under the year 855, go back to much older times, and J. W. follows him. Thus there is a reference to Offa and to the marriage of his daughter Eadburh to Beohtric or Brihtric, king of Wessex, which is entered in the A.S.C. in 787, and to his murder by his wife. The chronicle is silent as to this and merely enters his death in the year 800. The account of the murder was copied by J. W. from the pseudo-Asser. He adds a clause of his own, however, which says: 'Pro hujusmodi reginae malitia omnes accolae illius terrae conjuraverunt ut nullum unquam super se regnare permetterent, qui reginam in regali solio juxta se sedere imperare vellet.' I do not know whence J. W. obtained this. It is curious that A.S.C. does not say a word about the crime of the queen. The last clause about St. Eadmund comes from Abbo's life of the saint, and reads thus: 'Sanctissimus Deoque acceptus Eadmundus ex antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus fidei christianae cultor veracissimus, omnibus blando eloquio affabilis, humilitatis gratia praecluis, egentibus liberaliter dapsilis, pater clementissimus pupillis et viduis, East Angliae provinciae nactus est culmen regiminis.' J. W. alone gives the death day of Aethelwulf, namely the ides of January (January 13th).

856, 857. These years are vacant in J. W. except that in MS. A of that work there is the gloss in 857 'defuncto Ceadda Herefordiae episcopo, Aldbertus successit.'¹

858. This entry in J. W. is from M. Sc.

859. This is vacant in J. W. except that in MS. A just cited we have the gloss 'defuncto Oithelwaldo Licetfeldensi pontifice successit Hunberhtus.'²

860. This entry is from the pseudo-Asser except the

¹ M.H.B. 553, 1.

² M.H.B. 553, 2.

obit of the hermit Megubard, which is from M. Sc. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Rethuno Legerecensi episcopo successit Aldredus.'¹

861. This is entirely from M. Sc.

862. The obit of St. Swithun is found only in J. W. It came perhaps from a life of the saint. He dates it vi non. Iulii (2nd July).

863. This is entirely from M. Sc.

864. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest from the pseudo-Asser.

865. This is vacant in the pseudo-Asser and in the text of J. W. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Hunberhto Licetfeldensi episcopo, successit Cineferth.'²

866, 867. These annals in J. W. are extracts from the pseudo-Asser. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss: 'Ealhstan episcopus Scireburnensis ecclesiae viam universitatis adiens, postquam episcopatum per 1 annos honorabiliter rexerat, in pace in Scireburnbam sepultus est' (see Thorpe F. W. 81, note 1).

868. The notices of the cycle and the comet are from M. Sc. The rest is from the pseudo-Asser, except the building of St. Andrew's oratory at Kemesege and its dedication by Aldhun, bishop of Worcester, which probably came from some Worcester record.

869. The first clause is from M. Sc. the rest from the pseudo-Asser.

870. The greater part of this annal is from M. Sc. the rest is from the pseudo-Asser except a sentence about St. Eadmund which is expressly said by J. W. to be 'ut in sua legitur passione,' and comes doubtless from Abbo's life. The last clause is from M. Sc.

871. This annal is from the pseudo-Asser except a few sentences reading thus:

Tandem rex Aethered finitis quibus occupatus erat orationibus, advenit et invocato magno mundi Principe mox se certamini dedit. . . Rursus duobus evolutis mensibus rex Aethered et frater ejus Alfredus cum paganis, qui se in duas diviserant turmas, apud Meretun pugnantes diu victores existunt, adversariis omnibus in fugam versis; sed illis in praelium redeuntibus multi ex his et ex illis corruunt et pagani victoriam accipientes loco funeris dominantur.

¹ M.H.B. 553, 4.

² M.H.B. 553, 6.

This annal has been entirely altered by J. W. He has shifted the various paragraphs in the pseudo-Asser and arranged them in a different order and under different dates; otherwise the greater part of this very long annal is verbatim as in Asser. Thus the paragraph beginning with 'Communi itaque et ingenti patris,'¹ down to 'Saxonum non erant,'² is given by the pseudo-Asser under 866. The next paragraph, beginning with 'Cum in primaevio juventutis,' down to 'de vita desperabat,' is given in the pseudo-Asser under the year 868.³ The next paragraph in J. W. beginning 'Sed quodam tempore divino,' as far as 'funditus eradicaretur' is put in the pseudo-Asser before the one last cited, also in the year 868.⁴ The next one beginning 'quamvis et hunc dolorem' and following the one last used in the pseudo-Asser is also displaced by J. W.⁵ The next paragraph beginning with 'supra memoratus Alfredus' in J. W.⁶ and ending with 'suscepit,' is transferred from an earlier page of the pseudo-Asser.⁷ The concluding sentence in this paragraph of J. W. beginning 'de infantibus' is taken from a phrase under the year 866 in the pseudo-Asser.⁸

The defeat of the English by the Danes at Merton is not mentioned by the pseudo-Asser and J. W. has taken his account from A, B, C, D and E, which he follows closely. It is curious that he should exclude the notice of bishop Heahmund of Sherborne in the fight, as it is mentioned in all the copies of the chronicle. J. W. alone gives the date of king Aethelred's burial, viz. ix kal. May. In describing the events when Aethelred refused to fight till the mass was finished, J. W.⁹ adds a phrase which is not in Asser, 'Tandem rex Aethered (sic) finitis,' etc., as quoted above.

872. The obit of pope Adrian is from Marianus. The rest of the annal is from the pseudo-Asser¹⁰ except the first clause which describes the death of Aldhun, bishop of Worcester, and the consecration of his successor Werefrith, dated by J. W. on the 'vii idus Junii die Pentecostes.' He says he was consecrated by Aethered (sic), archbishop of

¹ M.H.B. 555.² M.H.B. 556.³ M.H.B. 485.⁴ M.H.B. 484, 485.⁵ M.H.B. 556.⁶ M.H.B. 555.⁷ M.H.B. 477.⁸ M.H.B. 477.⁹ M.H.B. 555.¹⁰ M.H.B. 487.

Canterbury. J. W. doubtless got this from the obits at Worcester. In places he somewhat condenses Asser's account. Where the pseudo-Asser says 'His temporibus ego quoque a rege advocatus,' J. W. replaces the pronoun 'ego' by the name 'Asserum.' He then continues 'de occiduis et ultimis Britanniae finibus e monasterio sancti Dewii advocavit. Quorum omnium doctrina et sapientia, regis desiderium ita indies crescebat et implebatur, ut in brevi librorum omnium notitiam haberet.'

In MS. A of J. W. there is the gloss 'defuncto Aldberhto Herefordensi episcopo, successit Esne.'¹

873. The earlier part of this annal is from M. Sc. the rest from the pseudo-Asser.² In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss 'defuncto Aldredo Legerensi pontifice Ceolredus successit.'³

874. The foreign allusions at the beginning of this annal are from M. Sc. the rest is from the pseudo-Asser.⁴

875. The same is true of this annal,⁵ but the name spelt *Healfdene* by the pseudo-Asser is rightly spelt *Halfdene* by J. W. J. W. like Asser, writes *Stratcluttenses* where Ethelward writes *Cumbir*, being the first use of the name. The chronicles speak of seven ships and not six.

876. This annal in J. W. is divided between M. Sc. and the pseudo-Asser except the ante-penultimate paragraph, which is not in either work and is doubtless paraphrased from the A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C, D and E, where it is entered in 877. The rivers *Frawe* and *Terente* of J. W. are the *Frome* and *Trent*. In MS. A of J. W. *Thornsaeta* is glossed 'Britannice *Durngneia*.' The penultimate sentence is from the pseudo-Asser.⁶ The concluding sentence about *Rollo* is neither in the pseudo-Asser nor in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, but is exactly in the same words as in the so-called *Annals of Asser*.⁷ These annals, in referring to the oath, also say 'et super armillam super quam,' which is added as a gloss to the pseudo-Asser (Thorpe, F. W. 93, note 3). The latter also speaks of *Exeter* as 'Britannice *Cairevisc*' and as situated on the eastern bank of the river *Wesc*, and adds that the

¹ *M.H.B.* 558, 1.

² *M.H.B.* 478.

³ *M.H.B.* 558, 2.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *M.H.B.* 479.

⁷ *op. cit.* ed. Gale, 165.

Danes wintered there (*ibid.*). The last clause is from M. Sc.

877. This annal is from the pseudo-Asser.¹ It is curious that J. W. does not mention Swanwic as the place where the northern fleet was lost, as it is named both in the chronicle and the pseudo-Asser.⁹ While J. W. says the army set out in autumn, Asser says 'mense Augusto' (*ibid.*).

878. This is virtually verbatim in J. W. and in the pseudo-Asser. He uses the word 'fasellis' where pseudo-Asser says 'rasellis.' The Petra Ecgberti of the annal was probably Brinton in Somersetshire, and nals = aller near Athelney.

879. This is the same as the last except the last clause, which is also not in the pseudo-Asser. The eclipse, however, is wrongly dated. It was on 14th March, 880. The last clause which runs thus in J. W. is not in the pseudo-Asser: of Cirencester the pseudo-Asser says 'qui Britannice Cairceri':

Defuncto Dunberhto Wintoniensi episcopo, successit Denewlf. Hic si famae creditur, ad multam aetatem non solum literarum experts, sed etiam subulcus fuit. Eum rex Alfredus hostium violentiae cedens et in silvam profugus, casu sues pascentem offendit. Cujus comperto ingenio, literis informandum tradidit, et postmodum perfectius institutum creavit Wintoniae praesulem; commentus rem dignam mirraculo.³

880, 881, 882, 883. In each case the first clause is from M. Sc. The rest from the pseudo-Asser, except a sentence in the last year reading: 'Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto, succedit Suithelmus qui regis Alfredi elemosynam ad sanctum Thomam Indiam detulit, indeque prospere rediit.' We can hardly doubt the accuracy of this obit, and it compels us to conclude that the true Asser died in 883. A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C and D put his death in 910; E and F do not mention his death. The journey of Suithelm is mentioned in A.S.C. B, C, D, E and F. In the chronicle, however, the death of Asser is not mentioned in this year, nor is Suithelm's succession, but we have considerably more details about the mission.

¹ *M.H.B.* 480-482.

² *M.H.B.* 480, 481, 482.

³ This also occurs in William of Malmesbury, *de Gest. Pont.* see *M.H.B.* 560, 6.

According to these, it was led by Sighelm, who is not called a bishop as in J. W. William of Malmesbury who perhaps follows J. W. also calls him a bishop but names him Sighelm and not Suithelm. He is not mentioned in the list of the bishops of Sherborne in the appendix to J. W. which calls the successor of Asser Aethelward. There is, however, a bishop Sighelm in that list, namely, the last of the Sherborne bishops, the fourth after Asser.

884. The first clause is from M. Sc. That about pope Marinus and the Saxon school, etc. is from the pseudo-Asser. The last clause is from A, B, C, D and E.

885. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest from the pseudo-Asser who, however, puts it in 884. The events of 884 seem to be referred to in part by the pseudo-Asser.

886. Except the first clause, which is from M. Sc. this annal is from the pseudo-Asser.¹

887. A large part of this annal is also from M. Sc., the rest from the pseudo-Asser, but J. W. omits some rhetorical passages.

With this annal the connexion between J. W. and the pseudo-Asser comes to an end and the former reverts again largely to the chronicle.

888. This is entirely from M. Sc.

889. The beginning is from M. Sc. the rest is from A, B, C, D and E, except that they all substitute 'Paviam' for 'Ticinum,' while C alone puts the event in 889, the others putting it in 888. This points to C being here the source of J. W. MS. E of the chronicle, J. W. and Henry of Huntingdon alone mention the succession of Plegmund, but in the first it is clearly an insertion. It is entered under 890, as it is in Latin and not in English, and was probably taken from J. W. J. W. speaking of the death of archbishop Aethelred says: 'Cui in archiepiscopatu successit Pleigmundus literis insigniter instructus.'

891. C alone, like J. W. puts this annal in 891; the other manuscripts of the chronicle put it in 890. Further J. W. agrees with B and C in speaking of St. Laudan or

¹ M.H.B. 489.

St. Loðan, i.e. Saint-Lô, instead of the corrupt form Scanleodan or Seandlaudan, as in D and E. The latter part of the annal is from M. Sc.

892. The first sentence is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is in A, B, C. and D but not in E. J. W. has two or three variants. Thus he calls the continental Saxons Old Saxons. He speaks of the 'pedestrem exercitum,' while the chronicler speaks of the 'radhere' or mounted army. He says the boat had neither sails nor oars, while the chronicle merely says it had no oars. J. W. calls it a 'carabus.' The names of the three Scotch saints are more like those in D than those in the other copies, and two are identical in D and J. W. (He calls them Dusblan, Mahbethu and Malinmumin). The annal is dated in 891 in A and B and in 892 in C and D. It is not contained in E. In A of Florence we have the gloss 'defuncto Swithelmo Scireburnensi episcopo, successit Ethilwardus.'¹ The battle between the Northmen and Franks dated by J. W. in this year was really fought on 1st September, 891, on the banks of the Dyle near Louvain. According to Willekind the pagans lost 100,000 men, the Danes admit only 9,000 or 10,000. Among them were twelve of their leaders, and it freed the interior of Germany for ever (see Thorpe, F. W. 109).

893. This annal is all from the chronicle. A, like J. W. gives 250 as the number of the ships. B and C have 200, E and F 350. J. W. calls the great army of the chronicle 'classicus et equestris exercitus' and says it came from East Francia, the east kingdom of the chronicle.

894. The first clause is from Marianus. The rest is substantially from the chronicle MSS. A, B, C and D with a few verbal changes. E and F are vacant. J. W. says the pagan fleet that went from Northumbria and East Anglia consisted of 240 ships, probably an error for 120: 'sum hund super' (Thorpe, op. cit. III, note). The chronicle only mentions 140. J. W. translates 'gewaldenum daele' by 'paucis . . . relictis.'

895. This annal, except the last clause, is from M. Sc. It is condensed from one of the manuscripts A, B, C and

¹ M.H.B. 504, note 13.

D, E and F being vacant. J. W. says the pagan fortress on the Lea was twenty miles from London.

896. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is like A, B and C and doubtless comes from C. The mention of Qwátbryicge (i.e. Bridgnorth on the Severn) is in the manuscripts A, B, C of the chronicle. In D it is superseded by Bryge, showing that J. W. was here following C. E and F are vacant.

897. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest condenses very considerably the narrative in A, B, C and D of the chronicle, leaving out at least one half of the middle and retaining a considerable paragraph at the beginning and the end. The 'propositus Wintoniensium' of J. W. is the 'wic reeve' of the English and the 'strator regis' the king's horse thane 'hors þegn' (Thorpe, F. W. 115). MSS. E and F are vacant. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Sciraburnensi episcopo Aethelwardo cessavit episcopatus vii annis, vi hostilitatis cogenti.'¹

898, 899. These annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc. It is curious that J. W. should not mention the death of Aethelm, ealdorman of Wiltun shire in 898, as it is mentioned in all the chronicles. All the chronicles are vacant in 899 and 900.

900. The first clause is from M. Sc. The obit of Healstam, bishop of London, is put in this year by J. W. His death is put in 898 in all four chronicles. A, B, C and D. In A he is called 'Heahstam' while in B, C and D he is called 'Ealhstan,' as he is in the appendix to J. W. J. W. alone mentions his successor Theodred here. The obit of Eardulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was succeeded by Cuthard, is only given by J. W. and doubtless came from the Lindisfarne records. This year is vacant in E and F.

901. This begins with a high-flown eulogium of Alfred by the compiler of J. W.'s work. This eulogium is worth repeating. He calls him 'famosus, bellicosus, victoriosus; viduarum, pupillorum, orphanorum, pauperumque provisor studiosus; poetarum Saxonorum peritissimus; suae genti charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia,

¹ M.H.B. 567, note 7.

fortitudine, justitia, temperantia praeditus; in infirmitate qua assidue laborabat, patientissimus; in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus; in servitio Dei vigilantissimus et devotissimus.' He goes on to say he reigned twenty-nine years and six months; so does Simeon of Durham. A.S.C. says thirty winters in MSS. A, B and C, and twenty-eight and a half winters in D, E and F. Mr. Plummer says truly that as they put his birth in April 871 and his death in October 901 the two latter manuscripts cannot be right. His death is put by Aethelward in 900, the date given by the annals of St. Neot, and by two documents quoted by Kemble, nos. 1076 and 1077, which is a strong list of witnesses and seems conclusive. Mr. Stevenson, resting on an entry in Cott. Vesp. D. xiv, f. 223, argues in spite of this evidence that the year of the great king's death was 899, which is also the year given by Simeon of Durham. Alfred's death-day was almost certainly October 26th and not 28th as J. W. says. As Mr. Plummer says, it is confirmed by the calendar in the Hyde register, p. 272. It is the date given by MSS. D, E and F of the chronicle, namely the 7th of the kalends of November. MSS. A, B, C say he died six days before All Hallows, that is the 27th of October. J. W. alone tells us he was buried in 'the new monastery' at Winchester. After naming the succession of Alfred's son Eadward, 'cognomento senior' as he calls him, J. W. has a second paragraph extolling Eadward's great qualities and his successes in war, which enabled him to obtain the hegemony of all Britain, and giving an account of his various children and of the great alliances made by his daughters, one with the emperor Otho, another with Charles the king of the West Franks, and the third with Sihtric king of Northumbria. Then follows a considerable paragraph from one of the chronicles A, B, C or D. He adds the fact that the nun who had been carried off by the aetheling Aethelwold from the nunnery at Wimborne, which had been built, as he says, by Saint Cuthburga, was captured and returned to the nunnery. The last clause is from M. Sc. E and F have only a short sentence here.

902. This entry is entirely from M. Sc.

903. The obit of pope Benedict is from Marianus. The rest of the annal follows A, B, C and D of the chronicle.

With B and C, J. W. puts 'Grimbold' for 'Grimbald' as it is in A and D. He doubtless had C before him. He says of him 'magnae sanctitatis, unusque magistrorum Alfredi regis gaudia scandet regni coelestis.'

904. The first clause is from M. Sc. In the rest of the annal J. W. is not quite consistent with the chronicle. He says: 'Mutarum apparatu navium, quas vel adquisierat, vel quas de East-Saxonia cotraxerat, clito Aethelwoldus in Angliam de transmarinis rediit partibus.' The chronicles B, C and D say: 'Her com Aelwold hiðer ofer sae mid eallum am flotan þe he begitan mihte and him to gebogen waes in Eastsaexue.' MS. A epitomises this and says 'Her com Aedelwald hiðer ofersae mid þaem flotan þe he mid waes in Eastsexoe.' The battle is said by J. W. to have been fought at Holme. This is not mentioned in the chronicle A and D. It is in B and C, but is there dated in 902. It was doubtless derived by J. W. from C.

905. The foreign entry in J. W. is from Marianus. The former and the chronicle differ in some small points in what they have in common. He calls the town where the allies crossed the Thames 'Creccanford,' while the chronicle gives it its proper name 'Craegelade' (i.e. Cricklade). Thence (the chronicle merely says) the Danes went to Bradene. J. W. calls it 'silva quae Saxonice Bradene vocatur peragrata' (the reference is to Bredon forest near Malmesbury). The river Ouse is called Wusan by the chronicler. J. W. calls it Usa. The chronicle says the allies harried all the land between the dykes (dicum) and the Ouse and as far north as the fens (fennas), while J. W. speaks of the district as between the possessions of Saint Eadmund and the Ouse.

J. W. omits one of the English chiefs killed in the battle, namely Eadwald, son of Acca. Two chiefs who are mentioned in the chronicle are named there Eadwold and Eadwald and J. W. doubtless omitted one by mistake. J. W. also omits the names Byrhtsige son of Beornoðh the aetheling, Ysop the bold, and Oskytel the bold, who fell on the side of the Danes. The last clause in J. W. 'Religiosa Christi famula Ealhswitha regina, mater regis Eadwardi, vita decessit; quae sanctimonialium monasterium Wintoniae construxit,' is only represented in the chronicles by the words 'Ealswið gefor þy ilcan geare.'

906. The comet mentioned this year in J. W. is put in 905 in B, C and D. D adds the date, namely xiii kal. November, which is not in J. W. and shows that he here followed C. The foreign notice which follows is from M. Sc. The death of Aelfred, the sheriff of Bath, is not mentioned by J. W. The rest of the annal is in the four chronicles A, B, C and D. E only has a line and a half referring to king Eadward. This last entry is after a silence of five years. It is not in J. W.

907. J. W. here entirely follows M.Sc.

908. The first clause is from M. Sc., the rest of the annal, as we shall see in a later page, probably came to J. W. directly from the Mercian annals. The rebuilding of Chester is mentioned in B and C of the chronicle but J. W. alone says it was by order of Aethelred and Aethelfleda, while he also tells us that the town was called Carlegion in British and Legeceastre in Saxon.

909. The first clause is from M.Sc. The obit of bishop Denulf of Winchester is in A, B, C and D. In MS. A of J. W. we read 'defuncto Kinefertho Licetfeldensi antistite, successit Tunbrihtus.'¹

910. The first sentence is from M.Sc. The clause about the translation of St. Oswald's relics from Barthoneig (i.e. Bardney) to Mercia is only in B and C of the chronicle. It doubtless came from C. It is there dated in 909. The succession of Fripestan to the Winchester see is in A, B, C and D of the chronicle.

In the account of king Eadward's campaign against the Danes J. W. adds that its cause was 'quia pactum quod secum Dani pepigerant praevaricati sunt.' He states that he sent his army to Mercia and Northumbria, while the chronicle only mentions Mercia, and he adds the result thus: 'et reges-ducesque eorum (vellent nollent) cum rege Eadwardo pacem quam fregerant redintegrare compulerunt.' He also says the campaign lasted forty days, while the chronicle says five weeks. It would appear that he was here following a manuscript no longer extant. MS. E of the chronicle only has one short clause in this annal.

911. The first clause in J. W. in this year is entered

¹ M.H.B. 569, 2.

in the chronicle in 910. He mentions the place where the battle with the Danes was fought, namely Wodnesfeld. This is also named by Aethelward. On the other hand he omits eight of the names of the Danish chiefs who were killed as given in the chronicle. The penultimate clause occurs only in J. W. and probably comes from the lost Mercian annals. It reads 'Aegelfleda (i.e. Aethelfleda) Merciorum domina urbem Bremesbyrig construxit.' It only occurs in MSS. B and C, where it is dated in 910. The last clause in the annal is from M. Sc. MS. E of the chronicle is vacant this year. In MS. A of J. W. 'Teotanhele' is glossed 'Tetonhale juxta Wlfrehampton.'

912. The beginning of this annal is from M. Sc. J. W. describes Aethelred as 'eximiae vir probitatis, dux et patricius, dominus et subregulus Merciorum,' and on his death this year mentions the succession of his widow Aegelfleda as ruler of Mercia (excluding London and Oxford, which were kept by her brother Eadward). He alone calls her the daughter of Alfred and says of her 'haud brevi tempore strenuissime tenuit.' This is doubtless from the Mercian annals. In his note Petrie says in regard to Aegelfleda that the chronology of Florence is more accurate than that of the chronicle.

913. The first clause in J. W. is from M.Sc. The building of Sceargete and Bryge (i.e. Bridgnorth) by Aethelfleda are put in 912 in B and C of the chronicle, but are not mentioned in D and E. It has been suggested that Sceargete was Sarratt, but my friend Mr. Thompson says that the identification with Sarratt is extremely doubtful. Leland thought the place was in Shropshire, and the old identification was with Shrewsbury itself. Sarratt was out of the range of Aethelfleda's operations. J. W. adds that Bryge was built 'in occidentali plaga Sabrinae fluminis in loco qui Brycge dicitur lingua Saxonica.'

The chronicle calls Hertford 'the northern borough.' J. W. says it was built in 'plaga septentrionali Sowae (sic) amnis.' The former alone gives the date, namely, about the festival of St. Martin (i.e. 11th November). He calls the river named Binefeca in the A.S.C. one of the three near the town, the Ficcean.

914. J. W. calls Northanhamtune what is styled Hamtune in the chronicle. He adds that the Danes also plundered Oxford, which is not in the chronicle. He styles Hokerantun a royal vill and adds that the pagans killed many in other towns.

The next section in J. W. is put in 912 in the chronicle. He adds that Aethelfleda built a fortress on the north side of the river Sowa. Mr. Thompson says that the fortress or *burh* meant is the *burh* at Stafford, which is mentioned in A.S.C. under 913. Aethelfleda did nothing at Hertford. J. W. is particularly valuable here, as his mention of the position of the *burh* with regard to the Sow shows that it cannot be connected with the mount-and-bailey castle, which was on the south of the stream at some distance from the town. The last clause in J. W. about a hard winter comes from M. Sc. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'Athelmo Wyllensi episcopo in archiepiscopatum Dorobernensem levato, successit Wulfhelmus.'¹

915. The first part of this long annal is from M. Sc. The rest is almost alike both in J. W. and in the chronicle. The only statements in the former not in the chronicle are the obits of bishops Wereferth of the Hwicci and Cuthard of Lindisfarne and the names of their successors. The text and the appendices of J. W. do not agree in regard to the bishops of the Hwiccas; the appendix interpolates the name Wilferth between Wereferth and Aethelhun as given in the text. There is also a passage about queen Aethelfleda, to which we shall return presently. The island J. W. calls Reoric is called Flatholme in the chronicle. The district he calls Deomed (i.e. Demetia) is called South Wales in the chronicles. Lastly he does not give the date of Eadward's entry into Buckingham, which is put before Martinmas (11th November) in the chronicles B, C and D. E does not contain it.

We now reach a point in the chronicle where the chronology in one of its manuscripts becomes confused where it had previously been in the main consistent. MS. A for some reason or other has no entries under the years

¹ M.H.B. 570, 2.

914, 915 and 916 and equates the annal which in B, C and D and in J. W. is put in 914 with 918, thus becoming three years wrong in its reckoning. This mistake of dating is continued for several years, so that the dates recorded in A from this date onwards must be set back three years.

916. The first part of this annal in J. W. is like the entry in A under the year 919 (i.e. rightly 916). It only occurs in that manuscript of the chronicle, which is curious, the only slight difference being that J. W. speaks of the king remaining at Bedford thirty days instead of four weeks as in the chronicle, and mentions the Ouse as the river on which Bedford was built. The last clause in the annal in J. W. is found in B and C of the chronicle under the year 913, where it is apparently misplaced. He dates the building of Runcofan (i.e. Runcorn in Cheshire) before the feast of the Nativity, while the chronicle puts it before midwinter.

917. The initial clause about the invasion of the Hungarians is from M. Sc. The continuation of this annal in J. W. is like the entry in 920 in A, except that he translates 'getimbrode' by 'reedificavit.' The rest of the annal is equated with that in B and C and dated 916, the only difference being that abbot Ecgberht's death-day is there dated xvi, and in J. W. vi, kal. July, and that in the former we are told that the day was the feast of St. Ciricius the martyr, which is omitted by J. W. The latter concludes this annal with the entry: 'Rollo primus dux Normannorum obiit: cui successit Wilhelmus filius ejus.'

918. This year J. W. is with small exceptions equated with 921 in MS. A alone. As usual, however, the latter is three years in advance of the true date. The differences are merely that Eadward's advance from Northampton is put in the chronicle between Lammas and midsummer and in J. W. after the nativity of St. John Baptist. He states that the Danes, after retreating from Towcester, ravaged parts of Buckinghamshire: the active fighting, however, took place in Northants, where A.S.C. mentions Towcester and Passenham, which name is omitted in the chronicle. Where the chronicle says Eadward slew many hundreds of the enemy, J. W. says many thousands. While J. W. speaks of the Danish chief Thurferth with the

people of Northampton and the Danes and English as submitting to the king, the chronicle speaks of the district which submitted as extending from Northampton as far as the river Welland. The town of Urgingamere mentioned by both authorities has been identified by some with Waymere castle on a small island near Bishop's Stortford and by others with Wigmore in Herefordshire.

Besides the large quantity of matter which J. W. has in the entry for 918 in common with MS. A, he also has an extract from B, C or D, which they date in the year 917, about Aethelfleda's capture of Derby.

The last clause is from M.Sc. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss 'defuncto Werstune Scireburnensi episcopo, successit Aethelbaldus.'

919. The first part of this entry in J. W. is also compounded of two copies of the chronicle. The first part down to the word 'consensuros' is taken from MS. B or C under the year. The second is taken from A, where it is dated in 922 (i.e. 919). After describing the subjection of Tamworth, J. W. says: 'Inde movens exercitum, ad Snotingham profectus est, captamque urbem resarcire jussit, et in ea Anglos simul et Danos collocavit.' The last clause is from M. Sc. In MS. A we have the gloss 'defuncto Adhelstano Wiltunensi episcopo successit Odo.'

920. This annal is nearly all from MS. A 923 (i.e. 920).

It is curious that Mameceaster is there described as being in Northumbria and not in Mercia. The last clause comes from some copy of the chronicle not extant. It reads: 'Post haec ab Aelfwinna nepte sua potestatem regni Merciorum penitus ademt; et in West-Saxoniam duci praecepit.' MSS. B, C and D of the chronicle merely read under the year 919: 'Her eac wearð Aeþeredes dohtar Myrcna hlafordes aelces onþealdes on Myrcum benumen and on West Sexe alaeded þrim wucan aer miððum wintra; seo waes haten Aelfwyn.'

921. This comes entirely from chronicle MS. A 924 except that J. W. adds from some lost copy of the chronicle: 'regem Eadwardum seniore sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt, firmumque cum eo foedus pepigerunt.' It does not appear in B, C, D or E.

922. This annal is only found in J. W. and comes probably from some lost text of the chronicle. It runs thus: 'Clito Aethelwardus regis Eadwardi germanus xvii kal. Novembris defunctus, Wintoniam defertur et sepelitur. Wicciorum episcopo Aethelhuno defuncto Wilferthus successit.'

923. This annal is entirely from M. Sc. but MS. A adds the gloss: 'defuncto Bernecho Saelesiensis episcopo successit Kenredus.'¹

924. The first clause is from M. Sc. The death of king Eadward is in all the chronicles. B, C and D alone add with J. W. that he died at Fearndun in Mercia. J. W. alone calls it a royal vill, and says he died in the fifteenth indiction and in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. J. W. styles him 'invictissimus rex Anglorum, Eaduardus senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incolentibus Anglorum, Scotorum, Cumbrorum, Danorum pariter et Britonum populis gloriosissime praefuit,' and adds that he died 'post multas res egregie gestas.' MS. E of the chronicle puts his death in 925. J. W. says he was buried 'regio more' at the new monastery at Winchester. The sentence about the death of his son Alfward and his burial at Winchester is from the A.S. chronicle MS. B, C or D. J. W. alone says that Eadward left the realm to his son Aethelstan, whereas MSS. B, C and D of the chronicle say that Athelstan was chosen king by the Mercians. MS. D of the chronicle alone says he was crowned at Kingston and J. W. alone calls Kingston a royal vill and says that the ceremony was performed by archbishop Athelm. In MS. D we are told that Alfward died about sixteen days after his father, which is not stated by J. W.

Among the manuscripts of the chronicles F alone mentions St. Dunstan's birth this year. J. W. says of him: 'Cujus temporibus oritur puer strenuus Dunstanus in West Saxoniae finibus.' Osbern is the first of Dunstan's biographers who gives us the year of his birth; he puts it in the first year of king Athelstan. The last clause is from M. Sc. where, however, it is entered under the year 926. In MS. A of J. W. there is a gloss taken from

¹ *M.H.B.* 572, 11.

William of Malmesbury about the death of archbishop Athelm and his succession by Wulfhelm.

925. This clause closely follows MS. D of the chronicle, the other manuscripts being silent. The gift of his sister in marriage by Athelstan to Sihtric is mentioned in MSS. B, C and D, the sentence in the two former being mutilated. J. W. says he gave her 'cum magno honore et gloria' and speaks of Sihtric as 'Northimbrorum rex Danica stirpe progenitus.'

926. In this J. W. also closely follows MS. D of the chronicle, while all the other manuscripts of this year are silent. J. W. translates the fiery lights ('fyrna leoman') of D (i.e. the aurora borealis) by 'radii.' The succession of Guthferth to Northumbria is not named in D. The expulsion of Guthferth is mentioned in MSS. E and F, but under the year 927, while the appropriation of his kingdom by Athelstan as stated by J. W. is omitted, showing that the latter had some other source than E. Both D and J. W. describe the kings against whom Athelstan fought. The latter styles them 'omnes etiam reges totius Albionis.' The king called Uwen in the chronicle MS. D is called Wer or Uver by J. W. by mistake. The latter says of Bamburgh 'regia urbe quae lingua Anglorum nominatur Bebbanbirig.' Speaking of Athelstan he says in reference to the kings: 'Ii omnes ubi se viderunt non posse strenuitati illius resistere, pacem ab eo petentes, etc.'

It is interesting to note that MS. D of the chronicle is silent from 927-933 inclusive, A from 926-930, B and C from 925-923, E from 929 to 932.

927. This is entirely from M. Sc.

928. The obit of bishop Tilred of Lindisfarne and the succession of Wigred are given only by J. W. In MS. A of his work there is a gloss: 'Defuncto Tunbrihto Licetfeldensi praesule, successit Aelle.'¹

929 The death of pope Leo is from M. Sc. The obit of Wilferth, bishop of the Hwicci, and the succession of Kinewold are not found elsewhere than in J W. They probably came from the Worcester records.

930. This is entirely from M. Sc.

¹ M.H.B. 573, 7.

931. As regards the obit of Eadulf, bishop of Devon (Domnania) J. W. alone says that he was buried at Crediton (Cridiauton).

932. The resignation of Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, is named only in the chronicle. J. W. adds a rhetorical eulogium of him and says: 'Hic vir sanctus fuit: quotidie missam pro defunctorum requie cantavit, nocte coemeteria circuivit, pro animarum salute psalmos decantavit. Quadam vice hoc agens, dum expletis omnibus subjungeret "Requiescant in pace", subito voces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulchris audivit respondentium "Amen".'

933. The death of Frithestan dated this year by J. W. is put in 932 in MS. A of the chronicle and 931 in F. The killing of the Hungarians by the emperor is from M. Sc.

934. The accession of pope Stephen is from M. Sc. who puts it in 932. The Scottish expedition of Athelstan is mentioned in the same year in A, B, C, D, E and F. J. W. alone states its cause: 'quia rex Scotorum Constantinus foedus quod cum eo pepigerat dirupit'; also the result of the expedition: 'Unde vi compulsus rex Constantinus filium suum obsidem cum dignis muneribus illi dedit; paceque redintegrata, rex in West Saxoniam rediit.' The death of St. Birnstan, bishop of Winchester, is given in A alone among the chronicles.

935. The succession of Alfheah to the see of Winchester is given in A in 934 and F 935. J. W. calls him 'religiosus monachus Alfeagus cognomento Calvus.'

936. All this annal in J. W. is from M. Sc. except the last clause about Athelstan giving his sister in marriage to the emperor Otto which is mentioned in MSS. A, B, C and D of the chronicle. The length of Otto's reign is from M. Sc.

937. J. W. describes the battle of Brunanburh in a very few sentences and ignores the long story as told in the poem, which he probably could not read. He styles Anlaf 'Hiberniensium multarumque insularum rex paganus Anlafus' and says that Constantine, king of the Scots, was his father-in-law ('socer') that five of the enemy's kings and seven of their leaders were killed in the fight, that no battle fought in Anglia had ever been so bloody,

and that Anlaf and Constantine fled to their ships, 'magno reversi sunt cum tripudio: illi vero summam infoelicitatem de interitu sui exercitus consecuti, cum paucis redeunt in sua.' The rest of the annal is from M. Sc. who calls the monastery that was burnt 'monasteria sanctorum Scotorum sancti Galli et sancti Bonifacii.'

938 and 939. These annals are entirely from M. Sc.

940. J. W. here follows MS. D, which alone says that Athelstan, whom the former styles 'strenuus et gloriosus rex,' died at Gloucester. The indiction as given by J. W. answers to 941 (see *M.H.B.* 574, note A). He adds that the king was buried at Malmesbury, which is not in any of the chronicles.

941. This annal in J. W. is only in MS. D of the chronicle. The former is alone in giving the obit of Alfred, bishop of Sherborne.

942. The first part of this annal is from M. Sc. Then comes a short epitome of the poem which is given in the chronicle. The election of Dunstan to the abbey of Glastonbury is not mentioned in the chronicle and comes almost verbatim from Adelard's life of the saint.¹ He says William, duke ('dux') of Normandy, was killed on the 16th of the kalends of January. This and the succession of Richard are probably from the Rouen annals. They occur in Latin in MSS. E and F of the chronicle without the date, where we are further told that Richard reigned fifty-two years.

943. The first paragraph comes almost verbatim from Adelard's life of St. Dunstan.² The rest of the annal is doubtless from MS. C of the chronicle. The introductory phrase is from M. Sc. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss: 'Defuncto Scireburnensi episcopo Aethelbaldo successit Aelfredus.'³

944. The first part of this annal is from M. Sc. the second is in all the chronicles. The account of the death of Wigred, bishop of Lindisfarne, and the succession as bishops of Uhtred, Sexhelm and Aldred in rapid succession are only in J. W.

945. This annal is reported from A, B, C or D of the

¹ *M.H.B.* 574, b. See *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs [Rolls ser.], 56.

² *Memorials*, ut sup.

³ *M.H.B.* 754, 4.

chronicle. The title of 'magnificus rex,' always applied by J. W. to Eadmund, is notable.

946. In the first clause in this annal J. W. styles St. Augustine 'Anglorum doctoris.' He adds the following words to the account of Eadmund in MS. D: 'suum dapiferum e manibus pessimi cleptoris Leovae, ne occideretur, vellet eripere; quinque annis septemque mensibus regni sui peractis, indictione iv septimo kal. Junii, feria tertia ab eodem interficitur; et Gleastoniam delatus a beato Dunstano abbate sepelitur. Mox proximus haeres Edredus, fratri succedens regnum naturale suscepit et xvii kal. Septembris, die Dominica, in Kingestune a sancto Odone Dorobernensi archiepiscopo rex est consecratus.'

The burial of king Eadmund by Dunstan comes from Adelard's life.¹ The rest of the annal is in all the manuscripts of the chronicle. It is clear that J. W. here had direct access to some lost chronicle, probably the so-called Mercian annals.

947. This annal is entirely from M. Sc.

948. This is vacant in J. W. except in MS. A where we have the gloss: 'Defuncto Kenredo Saelesiensis episcopo, successit Guthardus.'² In the *M.H.B.* we read in a note that in MS. B of J. W. are several notices of St. Aethelwold and of the foundation of Abingdon abbey, which all come from Dunstan's life of the saint or the history of Abingdon monastery.

949. In MS. B of J. W. there are inserted some facts about St. Aethelwold and the foundation of Abingdon, either from Wolstan's life of the saint or the history of Abingdon.³

949. This annal is like MS. D of the chronicle except the last sentence; but in that manuscript it is divided between the years 947 and 948. In the last sentence J. W. adds: 'Nam quendam Danica stirpe progenitum Ircum nomine (i.e. Eric) super se regem levaverunt.'

950. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is entirely identical with MS. D, 948. J. W. calls Edred 'rex egregius.'

¹ *Memorials*, 58.

² *M.H.B.* 574, 7.

³ See *M.H.B.* 574, c.

951. The obit of Alfheah, bishop of Winchester, which it dates on St. Gregory's mass day, is given in MS. A of the chronicle but in no other copy. J. W. adds some other matter, clearly from another source. His annal reads: 'Sanctus Aelfeagus cognomento Calvus, Wentanus episcopus, qui beatum Dunstanum monachatus et presbiteratus gradu decoravit, huic vitae modum fecit. Cui Alfsinus in episcopatum successit.'

952. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The rest is like MS. D 952, except that he writes Juthanbirig for the Judanbyrig of the chronicle.

953. The first clause is from M. Sc. The death of Aethelgar, bishop of Crediton, in the twenty-first year of his episcopate, his burial at Crediton, and the appointment of his successor Alfwold at the instance of abbot Dunstan, are given only by J. W. He calls Alfwold 'vir venerandus.' They doubtless came from a life of St. Dunstan.

954. This annal is like the latter part of MS. D in the same year. J. W. alone, however, speaks of the archbishop's release from custody and of his being restored to the episcopal honour at Dorchester (Dorcestre) ('episcopalis honor').

955. This annal is partly derived from the life of Dunstan; not, however, as stated in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* from the life attributed to Bridferth. From the word 'aegrotavit' to 'corrui' it is taken verbatim from Adelard's life.¹ J. W. adds that Edred died in the tenth year of his reign. After 'corrui' he continues: 'Regis autem corpus Wintoniam defertur, et ab ipso abbate Dunstano in veteri monasterio sepulturae honestissime traditur.' (Adelard says the king was buried at Glastonbury.) 'Cujus fratrui clito [Eadwius, regis scilicet Eadmundi et sanctae Alfgivae reginae filius, monarchiam imperii suscepit]; et eodem anno in Kingestune, ab Odone Dorobernensi archiepiscopo, rex est consecratus. [Eodem anno Ludovicus rex occidentalium Francorum, filius Caroli regis] et filiae regis Anglorum Eaduardi senioris, obiit; [Liutolfus quoque, filius Ottonis imperatoris] et alterius filiae ejusdem regis Eadwardi, obiit; [et sepelitur in choro monasterii sancti Albani Moguntiae.]'

¹ See *Memorials*, 58.

The first of these clauses in brackets may have been derived from MS. C, as it occurs in both B and C and E. It is unlikely that it came from D, which has a second clause not in J. W. while A and F tell us Edred died at Frome on St. Clement's day, which is not mentioned by J. W. The second clause in brackets is from some Frankish chronicle, the third and fourth are from M. Sc. In the last two cases J. W. himself was doubtless the author of the statements that the mothers of the two dead rulers were also daughters of Eadward the Elder. In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss: 'Defuncto Aelle Licetfeldensi episcopo, hic successores, etc,' which, says Petrie, came from William of Malmesbury (*M.H.B.* 575, note 3).

956. This annal is put in 957 in all the chronicles. The only manuscript of the chronicle which mentions the expulsion of St. Dunstan is MS. D, and this only in a bald sentence. From the word 'justitia' to the word 'acceptit,' the clause is from Adelard's life of Dunstan and a large part of it is verbatim. It runs thus: 'pro justitia proscriptus, mare transiit, et ab Arnulfo' (i.e. the count of Flanders so-called) 'regiae stirpis viro honorifice susceptus, in monasterio quod Blandinium dicitur' (i.e. Blandenburgh, otherwise Ghent, where Adelard was a monk) 'sub exilii sui tempore mansionem accepit.'¹ The obit of archbishop Wulstan is mentioned in MSS. D, E and F of the chronicle. D alone gives the date. He says he died on the 17th kal. January, while J. W. says the 7th. The latter also adds that he was succeeded by Oskitellus, who is not named in the chronicle. The last clause is from M. Sc.

957. None of this entry in J. W. is in the extant chronicles. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next one is probably from the Mercian annals. It reads thus: 'Rex Anglorum Eadwinus, quoniam in commisso regimine insipienter egit, a Mercensibus et Northimbrensibus contemptus relinquitur, et suus germanus, clito Eadgarus, ab eis rex eligitur; sicque res regum sejuncta est, ut flumen Tamense regnum disterminaret amborum. Mox rex Mercensium Eadgarus beatum Dunstanum abbatem cum honore et gloria revocavit.' The obit of

¹ *Memorials*, 59, 60.

Coinwald, bishop of Worcester (of whom J. W. says: 'vir magnae humilitatis et monasticae professionis defungitur' is doubtless from the obits at Worcester. The succession of abbot Dunstan and his consecration by archbishop Odo of Canterbury are from Adelard's life of the former.¹ The statement that the following year Eadgar 'Lundoniensem ecclesiam pio pastore viduatam commisit regendam' no doubt comes from the life of the saint generally attributed to Bridferth and is in his own language.²

958. The death of Alfsi bishop of Dorset, a mistake for Somerset (he was really bishop of Wells)³ and the succession of Brihthelm, styled 'vir pius et modestus humilis et benignus' by J. W. are doubtless from the obits at Wells. The next clause is much epitomised from the notice in the life of Dunstan by Byrhtferth,⁴ and reads: 'Sanctus Odo, Doroberniae archiepiscopus, regem West-Saxonum Eadwium et Alfgivam, vel quia, ut fertur, propinqua illius exstitit, vel quia illam sub propria uxore adamavit, ab invicem separavit.'

The next clause referring to the obit of archbishop Dunstan is no doubt J. W.'s own composition. He speaks of him thus: 'vir quidem clarus ingenio et virtute laudabilis, spiritu quoque prophetiae pollens, humanis excessit rebus, angelorum manibus ad Paradysum deductus. Huic successit Wentonie episcopus Alfsinus; et pro ipso ad episcopatum Wintoniensis ecclesiae ordinatus est Brihthelmus,' to which MS. A of J. W. adds 'Wellensis episcopus.'⁵

959. The death of archbishop Alphege in the Alps from exposure ('in Alpinis montibus gelu niveoque obstrictus') while on his way to receive the pall comes from Dunstan's life by Byrhtferth which it follows verbatim.⁶

The next paragraph comes from another source. The death of Eadwy and the succession of his brother Eadgar are mentioned in the year 958 in all the chronicles, but J. W. adds other facts showing his information came from some other copy not extant. He says that Eadwy, when he had reigned

¹ *Memorials*, 60.

² See *Memorials*, 33.

³ See *M.H.B.* 576, 4.

⁴ *Memorials*, 32, 33.

⁵ *M.H.B.* 376, 1.

⁶ *Memorials*, 38.

four years, died and was buried in the new monastery at Winchester, and adds: 'cujus regnum suus germanus rex Mercensium Eadgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus, anno aetatis suae xvi . . . suscepit, divisaque regna in unum copulavit.' The next clause from 'Brihtelmus' to 'instituitur' is an epitome of Byrhtferth's life of Dunstan.¹ The long and rhetorical panegyric that follows is no doubt J. W.'s own work.

960. This annal in J. W. is from Byrhtferth. In MS. A of J. W. there is a gloss: 'Defuncto Guthardo Saelesiensis episcopo successit Alfredus.'²

961 and 962. These annals in J. W. are entirely from M. Sc.

963. The first phrase in J. W. is like MSS. A and F of the chronicle. It merely mentions Aethelwold's appointment to the bishopric of Winchester. MS. A of J. W. adds that Aethelwold was educated by St. Dunstan and became bishop of Winchester on the death of Brihtelm. MS. B of J. W. adds: 'vice vero sancti Aethelwoldi Abbendoniae abbas constituitur Osgarus ejusdem monasterii monachus. Sed quia ecclesiam Abbendonensem ante susceptum episcopatum dedicandam reliquerat, post sui consecrationem et ipsam una cum beato Dunstano et aliis nonnullis coepiscopis suis in honore Dei genetricis Mariae consecravit v. kal. Januarii.'³ The next phrase about the expulsion of the clerks from the old monastery at Winchester and their replacement by monks is barely mentioned in A, E and F, and put by them in 964 (MS. B or A of J. W. says they were monks from Abingdon). In E the clause is given in Latin, and is possibly from J. W. He alone has the last clause complete, i.e.: 'Hic namque regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos a monasteriis expelleret, et monachos sanctimonialisque in eis collocare juberet.'

964. The first clause about the marriage of Eadgar to Aelfthrytha is from D or F. D calls her Aelfythe. The other manuscripts do not mention it, and these two put it in 965. The last clause about the placing of monks at the new monastery at

¹ *Memorials*, 38.

² *M.H.B.* 575, 9.

³ *M.H.B.* 577, 2.

Winchester under abbot Aethelgar and at Milton under Kineward is from A or F. In these two manuscripts of the chronicle a third monastery is named, i.e. Chertsey, over which Ordbirht was appointed. The middle clause about Eadgar's wives and children is only in J. W. They are named both in the text and in the appendices. Aelfthrytha was the widow of Aethelwold, whom he calls 'gloriosus dux' (i.e. ealdorman) of the East Angles, and says that by her Eadgar had two sons, Eadmund and Aethelred. By Egelfleda candida (i.e. the white) styled Eneda, the daughter of the ealdorman Ordmeare, he had Eadward, afterwards king and martyr, and by Saint Wulfthritha, the virgin most devoted to God, Eadgitha.

965. This clause is vacant in J. W.

966. The obit of pope John which is entered in J. W. in this year is put in M. Sc. in 968.

967. The death of count Eberhard is put by M. Sc. in 966. The English part of this annal is peculiar to J. W. It may have been in the Mercian annals. It runs: 'Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus, in monasterio Rumesyge, quod avus suus rex Anglorum Eadwardus senior construxerat, sanctimoniales collocavit, sanctamque Mearwinnam super eas abbatissam constituit.' All the manuscripts of the chronicle are vacant for this year and the next one.

968. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is again confined to J. W. and reads: 'Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus monachis in Exanceastra congregatis, virum religiosum Sidemannum illis abbatis jure praefecit. Mortuo Aldredo Lindisfarnensi episcopo successit Alfsius.' Simeon of Durham says that Aldred died at St. Cuthberht's in Cuneceastre.¹

969. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest is probably from some life of St. Oswald or from the Mercian annals. It reads thus: 'Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus sancto Dunstano Dorobernensis et sancto Oswaldo Wigorniensis, et sancto Aethelwoldo Wintoniensis ecclesiae episcopis praecepit, ut expulsis clericis in majoribus monasteriis per Merciam constructis monachos collocarent. Unde sanctus Oswaldus sui voti compos effectus, clericos Wigorniensis ecclesiae monachilem

¹ M.H.B. 577, a.

habitu suscipere renuentes de monasterio expulit; consentientes vero hoc anno, ipso teste, monachizavit eisque Ramesiensem coenobitam Winsinum, magnae religionis virum, loco decani praefecit.'

970. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is only found in J. W. and comprises the translation of St. Swithun's remains. It says of him: 'peractis a sepultura ejus cx annis, indictione xiii, idus Julii, feria sexta, sublatae sunt de monumento a sancto Aethelwoldo venerabili praesule, et ab Aelfstano Glastoniensis, et Aethelgaro novi monasterii abbatibus et in basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli decentissime sunt reconditae.' The same year J. W. gives us the obit of Osulf bishop of Wilton, his burial there and his succession by abbot Alfstan.

In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss: 'Defuncto Aelfredo Saelesiensis episcopo, successit Eadelmus.'¹

971. The obit of Eadmund in this annal is in the chronicle. In B and C it is dated 972 and in D and E 971. J. W. adds that he was honourably buried at Ramsey, which is only mentioned in MS. G of the chronicle.² The death of Alfeagus 'dux' (i.e. ealdorman) of the Southamtonians (i.e. of Hampshire) and his burial at Glastonbury and the death of Ordgar 'dux' of Domnonia or Devon, 'socer regis Eadgari,' and his burial at Exeter are mentioned only in J. W.

972. The first clause refers to the consecration of 'the new monastery' at Winchester, which had been founded by Eadgar's father Eadmund and completed by himself. This was performed at his order ('precepit'). The death of Alfwold, bishop of Devon, in the nineteenth year of his episcopacy and his burial at Crediton are mentioned only in J. W. A gloss in M.S. A of J. W. says 'cui Sidemannus successit.' The death of archbishop Oskitel and his succession by his relative ('suus propinquus') St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the see of York, is entered in part in MSS. B and C of the chronicle under 971, which give more details of the dead prelate, but do not mention his successor.

¹ M.H.B. 577 6.

M.H.B. 223, 1. This statement is preserved in one of the fragments not destroyed in the Cotton fire.

² Labelled W for Wheloc by Petrie in

973. The obit of pope Stephen is from M. Sc. J. W. adds that he conferred the pallium on Oswald. He then goes on to describe the coronation of king Eadgar of which he gives a much longer account than that in the extant chronicles and evidently from a different source, since he mentions eight instead of the six kings of the chronicle who were present and also gives their names. He perhaps derived this from the Mercian annals. He adds that Eadgar was thirty years old when he succeeded; MSS. D, E and F of the chronicle say twenty-nine. He also says that the king was consecrated by the two archbishops ('*praesulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo*') and all the other bishops of England. He also says the consecration took place 'in civitate Akamanni.' The MSS. A, B, C of the chronicle gloss the name Acemannesceastre, adding the explanation 'Eac hie egbuend oþre worde beornas Baþan nemned,' 'but it the island-folk called by another name, Bath.' MSS. D and E call it 'Hatabaðum,' i.e. hot baths. After mentioning the coronation at Bath J. W. goes on to say: 'Interjecto deinde tempore, ille (i.e. the king) cum ingenti classe septemtrionali Britannia circumnavigata ad Legionum civitatem appulit.' (He apparently only went from Bath as far as Chester by the Irish sea.) 'Cui subreguli ejus octo, Kynath scilicet rex Scotorum, Malcolm rex Cumborum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii quinque, Dufnali, Siferth, Huwall, Jacob, Juchill ut mandarant occurrerunt, et quod sibi fideles et terra et mari cooperatores esse vellent juraverunt. Cum quibus die quadam scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis Deae perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procerum simili navigio comitante, a palatio ad monasterium sancti Johannis Baptistae navigavit. Ubi facta oratione, eadem pompa ad palatium remeavit. Quod dum intraret optimatibus fertur dixisse, tunc demum quemque suorum successorum se gloriari posse regem Anglorum fore, cum tot regibus sibi obsequentibus potiretur pompa talium honorum.' J. W. closes the annal with the obit of Brihthelm, bishop of Somerset, 'Sumertunensis,' and says he was buried in Willum, i.e. in Wells, and was succeeded by Kyneward, abbot of Middeltun. I cannot trace any of this beyond J. W.

The last sentence is also from M. Sc.

974. The first clause reports a great earthquake in all England, not mentioned in the chronicle; the rest comes from M. Sc. in 975; but is worth quoting. Speaking of 'Ebergerius, archiepiscopus Coloniensis' he says: 'Obtulit in sempiternum Scotis monasterium sancti Martini in Colonia. Cui primus praeficit abbas Minborinus Scotus.'

975. This long annal in J. W. comes from some unknown source, perhaps from the Mercian annals. As it contains much matter not found elsewhere, I propose to quote from it at some length. It first greatly glorifies the acts of king Eadgar in very rhetorical language, calling him 'Anglici orbis basileus, flos et decus antecessorum regum, pacificus rex Eadgarus,' and compares him to Romulus, Cyrus, Alexander, Arsaces and Charles the Great. Roger of Howden and the Melrose chronicle add to these 'Arcturus Britannis.' It recalls that he was only thirty-two years old when he died. He had then reigned nineteen years over Northumbria and Mercia, and over all England sixteen years. He adds to the statements in the chronicle that he died 'feria quinta,' and that his body was buried at Glastonbury 'regio more tumultum.'

He then continues: 'Is itaque dum viveret iii d.c. robustas sibi congregaverat naves; ex quibus, paschali emensa solennitate, omni anno mcc in orientali, mcc in occidentali, mcc in septentrionali insulae plaga coadunare, et ad occidentalem cum orientali classe, et illa remissa ad borealem cum occidentali, ipsaque remissa cum boreali ad orientalem classem remigare, eoque modo totam insulam omni aestate consueverat circumnavigare: viriliter hoc agens ad defensionem contra externos regni sui, et suum suorumque ad bellicos usus exercitium. Hieme autem et vere, infra regnum usquequaque per omnes provincias Anglorum transire, et quomodo legum jura, et morum decretorum statuta a principibus observarentur, neve pauperes a potentibus prejudicium passi opprimerentur, diligenter solebat investigare. In uno fortitudini, in altero justitiae studens: in utroque reipublicae et regni utilitatibus consulens. Hinc hostibus circumquaque timor, et omnium sibi subditorum erga eum excreverat amor. Cujus decessu totius regni status

est perturbatus, et post tempus laetitiae, quod illius tempore stabat pacifice, coepit tribulatio undique advenire. Nam princeps Merciorum Alfere, quampluresque regni primates, magnis obcaecati muneribus, abbates cum monachis de monasteriis, in quibus rex pacificus Eadgarus eos locaverat, expulerunt, et clericos cum uxoribus suis introduxerunt. Sed huic vesaniae, viri timorati, dux orientalium Anglorum Athelwinus Dei amicus, et suus germanus Alfwoldus, et Brihtnothus comes vir religiosus restiterunt; et in sinodo constituti se nequaquam ferre posse dixerunt, ut monachi ejicerentur de regno, qui omnem religionem tenuerunt in regno. Congregato dein exercitu monasteria orientalium Anglorum maxima strenuitate defenderunt. Dum haec aguntur, de rege eligendo magna inter regni primores oborta est dissensio. Quidam namque regis filium Eadwardum, quidam vero fratrem illius elegerunt Aethelredum. Quam ob causam archipraesules Dunstanus et Oswaldus, cum coepiscopis, abbatibus ducibusque quamplurimis in unum convenerunt, et Eadwardum, ut pater ejus praeceperat, elegerunt: electum consecraverunt, et in regem exuerunt.

The last two clauses of this annal in MS. A of J. W. report the death of Kyneward, bishop of Wells, and the appearance of a comet in autumn. The former doubtless came from the obits at Wells; the latter is mentioned in all the manuscripts of the chronicle except F.

976. The famine mentioned in this year in J. W. comes from the chronicle, in which it occurs in the first five manuscripts, but is dated in 975. The expulsion of earl Oslac is also named in all the same manuscripts of the chronicle in 975. In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss: 'Defuncto Algaro Wiltunensi praesule, successit Alfstanus monachus sancti Aethelwoldi apud Abendoniam, illi substituitur Sirinus.'

977. The first clause is from M. Sc. J. W. next mentions three synods. The first and greatest was held at Kirtling in East Anglia, the Kyrtlingtune of MSS. B and C of the chronicle. They add that bishop Sidemann of Devon died there and give some details of him. J. W. in the text in *M.H.B.* mentions merely his obit in this year. In MS. B of J. W. we however have the gloss: 'Cujus corpus Abandoniam defertur, et in porticu

sancti Pauli apostoli illic decenter humatur.'¹ MS. A adds in a gloss, 'cui Alfricus successit.'²

The second one was held at the royal vill of Kalne, or Calne, when the meeting-room subsided and a great disaster occurred. This is described in MSS. D and E only of the chronicle, and our entry doubtless comes from D. The third synod was held at Ambresbyrig (Amesbury).

978. The murder and burial of king Eadward are apparently taken by J. W. from MS. D, which puts them in 979. It says he was killed. MS. A says he was martyred ('gemartyrad'). D alone gives the date, viz. xv kal. April. J. W. adds: 'a suis injuste occiditur jussu novercae suae Alftrythae reginae.' The grim notice of the chronicle 'butan aelcan cynlice wurðscipe' is translated: 'non regio more sepelitur.' The details of the hallowing of king Aethelred doubtless came from a lost chronicle, for J. W. alone gives the date, i.e. 'indictione sexta die dominica xviii kal. Maii,' 'post paschalem festivitatem,' and mentions the names of the two archbishops who officiated, namely Dunstan and Oswald, and says they were assisted by ten suffragans. J. W. speaks of Aethelred as 'clito moribus elegans egregius, pulcher vultu, decorus aspectu.' J. W. calls Kingston Cyngestune where he was consecrated 'ad regni fastigium.' The Melrose chronicle says of him: 'qui xxx et viii annis in multis calamitatibus regnavit pro fratris nece quem mater ejus injuste peremerat.'

MS. C of the chronicle, which alone gives details, dates this event on Sunday, fourteen nights after Easter, and mentions the presence of only two suffragans. J. W. and C alone describe in detail the bloody cloud (probably a notable aurora borealis). These notices in C are put in 979. The obit of Alfwold, bishop of Dorset, is also only in J. W. and MS. C. Both date it in 978.

979. The translation of king Eadward's body is given in the baldest way in MSS. D, E and F of the chronicle, which put it in 980. J. W. doubtless from another source adds some details of the event. He says: 'Dux Merciorum Alferus cum multitudine populi Warham venit sanctumque corpus pretiosi regis et martyris Eadwardi, de

¹ M.H.B. 579, 5.

² M.H.B. 579, 5.

tumulo sublevati praecepit quod dum esset nudatum, sanum atque incolumem ab omni clade et contagione est inventum: lotum deinde novisque vestimentis indutum ad Sceaftesbyrig est delatum et honorifice tumulatum.' In the annals of Melrose we read under this year: 'Ailtriþa quondam regina sancti Edwardi regis interfectrix, duo monasteria id est Warewelle et Ambresbiri, causa poenitentiae construxit.'

980. This annal in J. W. is taken from C. J. W. adds that Aethelgar was abbot 'of the new monastery' when he was made bishop of Selsey. A gloss in MS. A of J. W. says: 'defuncto Eadelmo.'

J. W. translates the words from 'scipherige' 'a Danicis piratis,' and 'Norð scepherige' 'a Norwegenesibus piratis.'

981. The obit of pope Stephen is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is from MS. C of the chronicle and is not in the other manuscripts. J. W. adds that St. Petroc's monastery was in Cornubia (i.e. Cornwall). The chronicle calls it 'St. Peter's stow.' J. W. says that the fleet which ravaged it was the same which the previous year had devastated Southampton. He also adds the sentence: 'eximiae vir religionis Wulstanus Glastoniensis decanus obiit,' and omits the obit of abbot Womaer at Ghent.

982. This annal is taken almost verbally from the chronicle MS. C. It does not occur in any other manuscript.

983. This is in all the three chronicles, C, D and E. J. W. adds that Aelfarus, the duke or ealdorman of Mercia, was 'propinquus Eadgari' and was succeeded by Alfric.

984. The obit of Aethelwold as given in J. W. is in all the MSS. A, C, D, E and F. He adds the second indiction. J. W. says he was succeeded by Alfheag whom he calls abbot of Bath, 'Bathonicus abbas,' adding: 'Hic in monasterio cui Deorhyrste vocabulum est, religionis suscepit habitum,' but says nothing more of him. The last two clauses are from M. Sc. In MS. B of J. W. we have the gloss: 'Dominus etiam Osgarus abbas Abbendoniae per idem tempus diem clausit ultimum.'

985. This short annal about the appointment of abbot Eadwine to Abingdon occurs only in MS. C of the chronicle. In MS. B of J. W. we read 'Erat tunc major domus regis Aelfricus quidam praepotens, fratrem habens Edwinum

institutione monachum. Hic apud regem praetio exegit ut frater ejus Abbendoniae abbas praeficeretur, quod et factum est.¹

986. The wasting of Rochester by king Aethelred is barely mentioned in MSS. C, D, E and F of the chronicle. It is given at greater length in J. W. He says: 'Rex Aethelredus propter quasdam dissentiones civitatem Hrofi obsedit; et visa capiendi illam difficultate, iratus discessit et terras sancti Andreae apostoli devastavit.' The expulsion of Aelfric, duke of the Mercians, is mentioned in MSS. C, D and E of the chronicle. J. W. calls him 'Alferi ducis filius.'

987. Marianus has an interesting annal this year, which is copied in J. W. about the Scotie abbot of St. Martin at Cologne, Minborinus. The rest of the annal answers to the second clause in MSS. D and E of the chronicle in 986, which mentions a great cattle murrain in England. It is given at greater length by J. W. who also refers to the plague among men. He says: 'Hoc anno, duae retro saeculis Anglorum genti incognitae pestes, scilicet febris hominum et lues animalium quae Anglice scitta vocatur, Latine autem fluxus interaneorum dici potest, totam Angliam plurimum vexaverunt, et clade pervalida tam homines afficiendo, quam animalia penitus consumendo per omnes fines Angliae inedicibiliter desaevierunt.'

988. The cycle is from M. Sc. The first English clause is like C and D in the chronicle, but J. W. adds the name of a second chief who was killed in Devon by the Danes whom he calls 'miles fortissimus Strenvoldus.' Whence this name was derived I do not know. In regard to the result of the fight he says, 'Angli loco funeris dominantur.' The death of archbishop Dunstan and the succession of Aethelgar, bishop of Selsey, are given in all four MSS. C, D E and F. C and D alone mention Wecedport like J. W. who alone gives the death day of Dunstan, 'xiv kal. Junii sabbato.' In MS. A of J. W. is a gloss on the death of St. Dunstan, of whom it says: 'obiit, cui successit Athelgarus primus in novo monasterio abbas a beato Ethelwoldo Wintoniae factus; post australium Saxonum episcopus; cujus sedes tunc erat apud Selesiam, illique successit Ordabrihtus ad Saelesiam.'²

¹ M.H.B. 530, 2.

² M.H.B. 580, 3.

989. Pope Martin's obit is from M. Sc.

990. The consecration of Suric as archbishop is given in [C, D, E and F. J. W. calls him Siric like the last two and not Sygeric like C and D. E and F date the event in 989, while C and D put it in 990.

In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss: 'Aethelgaro Dorubernaie archiepiscopo successit Siricius Wiltonensium episcopus, qui clericis a Cantuaria proturbatis monachos induxit.' The death of Eadwine, abbot of Abingdon, is put in C as in J. W. in this year. In E it is put in 989. It is not mentioned in D and F. The succession of Wulfgar as abbot of Abingdon, which is in 989 in E, is in 990 in MS. C as in J. W. The death of Alfsius, bishop of Lindisfarne, and the succession of Aldhun are only in J. W.

991. The first clause is from Marianus. The second one about the sack of Ipswich by the Danes is given in MSS. C, D and E of the chronicle. J. W. adds, whence I know not, that their leaders were Justin and Guthmund, son of Sterean. He says that at the battle of Maldon there was a great slaughter on both sides, but that the Danish fortune won ('Danica fortuna vicit'). The death of the ealdorman of the East Angles, Byrhtnoth, is in C, D, E and F. J. W. adds the names of the dukes Aethelward and Alfric to that of archbishop Siric (who is named by the chronicle alone) as advising the payment of ten thousand pounds as tribute to the Danes. J. W. also alone mentions the consecration of the abbey of Ramsey by archbishop Oswald. It had been built by him and 'the friend of God,' i.e. Aethelwine, the ealdorman of the East Anglians. He adds: 'divino adjutus auxilio et confortatus adminiculo Aescwii Lincolniensis [really Dorchester] episcopi consecravit.' It was consecrated on the 6th of the ides of November 'feria tertia': whence he derived this I do not know.

992. The first clause of this annal in J. W. contains the obit of archbishop Oswald, which is mentioned in MSS. C, D, E and F, but J. W. adds the death day, namely indiction v, 'ii kal. Martii, feria secunda', and that he was buried in the church of St. Mary at Worcester, which he rebuilt from its foundation. This notice probably came from the Worcester obit book. Hoveden and the Melrose chronicle say of his death: 'ante pedes pauperum

ubi mandatum more solito faciebat.' Both J. W. and MSS. C, D and E mention that Oswald was succeeded as archbishop (the three manuscripts of the chronicle add as bishop of Worcester also) by Adulf, abbot of Medeshamsted, i.e. Peterborough, and J. W. and the three chronicles also say that Kenulf succeeded to the latter abbacy. The next clause in J. W. about the death of Aethelwine, whom he styles 'egregiae dux memoriae' and friend of God, is barely mentioned in MSS. C, D and E. J. W. on the other hand continues the story, saying: 'qui fratribus suis Aethelwoldo, Alfwoldo et Agelsino, licet junior aetate, illos tamen mansuetudine, pietate, bonitate et justitia excellebat, et ut vir maximae honestatis et munditiae, Paradisi civibus, uti credi licet, est allectus. Cujus corpus cum maximo honore Ramesegiam delatum a sancto Alfeago Wintoniensi episcopo est tumulatus.'

The rest of the annal in J. W. is also in MSS. C, D and E of the chronicle. A few points are worth noticing. The phrase 'scipu þe ahtes waeron' of the chronicle is translated 'robustiores naves,' by J. W. He adds the detail that the army leaders if possible were to entrap the enemy: 'in aliquo portu circumvallando comprehenderent.'

993. This annal in J. W. is like MSS. C, D and E except that J. W. says of the Danish chiefs 'quia ex paterno genere Danici fuerunt.'

994. This annal is also like C, D or E of the chronicle. J. W. calls Olaf Anlaf and styles him 'rex Norranorum': he calls Swegen Suuein and styles him 'rex Danorum.'

995. The mention of the comet in J. W. is in all the four MSS. C, D, E and F of the chronicle. Then comes the obit of Siric the archbishop, which is also in the same manuscripts. Simeon of Durham says of him: 'Iste clericis a Cantia proturbatis, monachos instituit.' This is stated in similar words in a gloss to MS. A (see 990). J. W. alone names his successor, whom he here calls Alfeage, bishop of Wilton. A gloss in MS. A of J. W. says he was a monk of Glastonbury and that he was succeeded at Wilton by Brihtwold.¹ Then follows an account of the life of St. Cuthberht and of his trans-

¹ M.H.B. 582, 1.

lation until he was taken to Durham. It is not in the chronicle and is a mere epitome taken from one of the saint's lives and inserted here *à propos* of the removal of the northern see to Durham in this year.

996. The consecration of Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, in J. W. is also in MSS. C, D and E of the chronicle.

997. This annal in J. W. is like the entry in the same year in C, D and E. J. W. translates '*Norð Wealum*' by '*septentrionalem Britanniam*.' After mentioning that the Danes entered the mouth of the Tamar he adds of the river '*Domniam et Cornubiam sequestrantis*.' A gloss in MS. A of J. W. says: '*defuncto Sigaro Wellensi episcopo, successit Alwinus*.'¹

998. The obit of pope Agapetus is from M. Sc. The next clause is like C, D and E, but J. W. adds the paragraph: '*Adversus tantam tempestatem multoties congregatus est exercitus; sed quotiens praelium essent commissuri Angli aut insidiis aut aliquo infortunio impediti terga verterunt et hostibus victoriam dederunt*.'

In a gloss in MS. A of J. W. we read '*Domnaniae praesule Aelfico defuncto successit Alfwoldus, illique alter Alwoldus*.'²

999. This is the same, only that MS. F again joins the other three manuscripts of the chronicle.

1000. This annal in J. W. is also like those in C, D and E. Where J. W. says '*circumnavigata septentrionale Britannia*,' the chronicle says, '*wendon ut abudan Legceasterand*.' Where the chronicle says '*Ricardesrice*' (i.e. Richard's realm) J. W. says '*Normanniam petit*.'

1001. The first clause in J. W. about the discovery of the body of the archbishop St. Ivo is doubtless from the life of the saint by Andrew or Goscelin. The next sentence comes evidently from the chronicles C, D or E. After mentioning the descent of the Danes at Exmouth J. W. says: '*et mox ad expugnandam urbem Exanceastram egreditur*.' He adds that the Danes destroyed the wall there. The chronicles call Exeter merely '*the town*.' J. W. adds that the Danes after going to the Isle of Wight '*modo in ea, modo in Suthamptonia, modo in Dorsetania, nullo obsistente, diu solitae praedae insistentes et in*

¹ M.H.B. 582, 2.

² M.H.B. 582, 3.

homines ferro et in villas igne sunt in tantum grassati.' Otherwise the annal is the same as C, D and E and partly as in MS. F.

1002. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is like that in MSS. C, D, E and F, except that J. W. adds a clause about the translation of St. Oswald. J. W. says 'Aldulfus archipraesul Eboracensis, coepiscopis, abbatibus, presbiteris, monachis, religiosis quoque viris aggregatis, sancti Oswaldi archipraesulis ossa, anno regis Anglorum Aethelredi xxv, indictione xv, xvii kal. Maii, feria quarta, e tumulo levavit, et in scrinio quod paraverat honorifice locavit : et non multo post, id est secundo nonas Maii ipse defunctus in ecclesia sancte Mariae Wigorniae est sepultus. Cui successit abbas Wulstanus.' The notice is probably from Eadmer's life of the saint, but J. W. alone gives the date. The clause about Aethelred marrying Earl Richard's daughter is only in MS. D of the chronicle. She is there called Yunna, and Aelgiva is given as a gloss. J. W. says of her 'Emmam Saxonice Alfgiva vocatam.'

1003. The obit of pope Octavianus is from M. Sc. The rest of the clause is like C, D, E and partly F, but gives the name of the Danish king, which they omit, namely, 'Suuein.' He calls the queen Emma, whom the chronicle calls 'the lady,' and directly attributes the raiding of Exeter to Swegen and says he did it 'per insilium, incuriam et traditionem Northmanici comitis Hugonis quem regina Emma Domnaniae praefecit.' He also adds the obit of Kilian, the Scotie abbot of St. Martin at Cologne, on the 19th of the kalends of January, and the succession of another Scot named Helias in the following year. This he takes from M. Sc. It is curious that in this annal J. W. translates 'ceorl,' which is the title given to Hugo in the chronicle, by 'comes.' The chronicle says that after destroying Wilton Swegen went to Salisbury. J. W. adds 'Simili quoque modo Saerbyriam (sec) consumpsit.'

1004. This annal in J. W. is like C, D and E and part of F, but the concluding phrase in J. W. is only in MSS. C and D, whence the annal was doubtless derived.

1005. This annal is the same as the latter part of that in the chronicle C, D, E and F. The chronicle says the

fleet went back to Denmark. It is curious that here as afterwards Simeon of Durham always calls Denmark Danulra. J. W. says Swegen also returned. In MS. A of J. W. we have the gloss: 'Alwino episcopo Wellensi defuncto, successit Livingus qui et Athelstanus.'¹ The chronicle of Melrose has a very notable interpolation about a very famous pope which I cannot resist quoting, namely Gerbert, known as pope Sylvester. He says: 'Istum dicunt fuisse (*sic*) Gerbertum hominum diabolo, ut eum faceret ad honores terrenos ascendere, de quo dicitur, Transit ab R. Gerbertus in R. fit papa vigens R. id est, de archiepiscopatu Remensi ad archiepiscopatum Ravennanae civitatis que tunc temporis gloriosa erat inter cathedras demum ad summae, id est, Romanae sedis apicem. Eundem vero interius postea compunctum, et exterius horribiliter afflictum, manus et pedes abscissos diabolo projecisse dicunt, et sic truncum obiisse et inter beatos collocatum.'

1006. This annal begins with the obit of archbishop Alfric which is in C, D, E and F. A gloss in MS. A of J. W. adds 'et sepultus est Abbendonae unde monachus exstiterat; sed regnante Kanuto rege ad sedem suam translatus est.'² J. W. adds that his successor was Alfege, bishop of Winchester, who was succeeded there by Kenulf. A gloss in MS. B of J. W. says he had been abbot of Peterborough (*Burgensis abbas*). J. W. then inserts a long passage which does not occur in any of the chronicles and is nearly all his own: 'Rex Aethelredus [*Wulfgeatum*] Leovecae filium quem pene plus omnibus dilexerat, propter injusta judicia, et superba quae gesserat opera, possessionibus omnique honore privavit. Dolosus et perfidus Edricus Streona dolum adversus nobilem ducem Alfhelmum cogitans, apud Scrobbesbyrig magnum ei paravit convivium, ad quod cum invitatus venisset, suscepit eum Edricus, quasi suus familiaris amicus; sed insidiis praeparatis tertio vel quarto die convivii, illum secum venatum in sylvam duxit. Ubi cunctis circa venationem occupatis, quidam Scrobbesbyrigensis carnifex, Godwinus Porthund, id est oppidi canis, quem multo ante donis magnis multisque promissionibus pro patrando facinore excaecaverat

¹ *M.H.B.* 554, 6.² *M.H.B.* 584, 7.

Edricus, ex insidiis subito prosiluit, et ducem Alfhelmum nefarie peremit. Parvo interjecto tempore, filii ejus [Wulfheagus et Ufegetus] jussu regis Aethelredi, apud Cocham, ubi ipse tunc degebat [caecati sunt]. Kenulfus [Wintoniensis] episcopus obiit [cui Aethelwoldus successit].’ The phrases in brackets appear in the chronicle alone, which, however, add another victim of Edric Streona (whose name it curiously omits) to those named by J. W. namely the ealdorman Aelfhelm. The rest of this interesting clause seems to me to have very likely come from the Mercian annals.

J. W. puts the invasion of the Danes which followed in July; the chronicle says after mid-winter. J. W. says the king was at Shrewsbury when the Danes went to the Isle of Wight. Ufegetus in the text of J. W. printed by Petrie is called Wegeatus in glosses in MSS. A and B. The rest of the annal in J. W. is like the four copies of the chronicle last named.

1007. The clause about the cycle is from M. Sc. The next clause about the payment of the tribute to the Danes enlarges on that in the four chronicles C, D, E and F by the words ‘[Rex Aethelredus] cum consilio primatum suorum nuncios ad Danos legans eis nuntiare mandavit quod sumptus et tributum eo tenore illis dare vellet, ut a rapinis desisterent et pacem cum eo firmam tenerent.’ It then resumes the common matter with the chronicle. J. W. borrowed this from MS. C or D, since E and F have a wrong figure for the tribute. J. W. also enlarged the statement of the appointment of Eadric as ealdorman of the Mercians as given in the chronicle into the following paragraph: ‘Rex Edricum supra memoratum Aegelrici filium, hominem humili quidem genere, sed cui lingua divitias ac nobilitatem comparaverat. calentem ingenio, suavem eloquio, et qui omnes id temporis mortales tum invidia atque perfidia, tum superbia et crudelitate superavit, Merciorum constituit ducem. Cujus fratres exstiterunt Brihtricus, Alfricus, Goda, Agelwinus, Agelwardus, Agelmarus pater Wulnothi patris West-Saxonum ducis Godwini.’ None of this very interesting statement in J. W. is in the chronicle. It is clearly a Mercian entry. The chronicle of Melrose thus refers to Edric: ‘perfidum et postea

patriae proditorem, licet gener regis fuerit, Merciorum constituit ducem.

1008. The cycle is again from M. Sc. J. W. translates the phrase in the chronicle about every 310 hides furnishing a 'long ship' by '*cccx cassatis unam trierem.*' While the chronicle says that every eight hides were to furnish one helm and byrnie, J. W. says '*de novem vero lorica et cassidem fieri.*'

The rest of this annal in J. W. is made a part of that of 1009 in five copies of the chronicle, where it probably should be. J. W. describes Brihtric the brother of Eadric as '*homo lubricus, ambitiosus et superbus*' and calls Wulnoth '*Suth-Saxonum ministrum.*'

1009. In this annal J. W. while largely following the chronicle, clearly had access to some copy not now extant, probably the Mercian annals. Thus he tells us that Turkill having arrived in England with his fleet, '*Exinde mense Augusto alia classis Danorum innumerabilis, cui praeerant duces Hemingus et Eiglafus ad Tenetland insulam applicuit, et praedictae classi sine dilatione se adjunxit. Deinde ambae Sandicum portum adeunt.*' Of this no mention is made in the chronicle. Later J. W. again has a statement of his own, relating to the doings of the king. He says: '*At perfidus dux Edricus Streona, gener ejus, habuit enim in conjugio filiam ejus Eadgitham, et insidiis ac perplexis orationibus ne praelium inirent, sed ea vice suos hostes abire permetterent, modis omnibus laboravit. Suasit et persuasit; et a manibus Anglorum Danos, ut patriae proditor, eripuit et abire permisit.*'

1010. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. The next one is put under the year 1009 in MSS. C, D and E of the chronicle. J. W. tells us that the Danes returned from Stane (Staines) to their ships '*per Suthiregam*' (i.e. Surrey), none of which is in the chronicle. The battle with Ulfketel is dated by J. W. on the third of the nones of May. The date is not in the chronicle. He also mentions the place where it was fought, namely Ringmere, which again is not in the chronicle. Among those who were killed J. W. speaks of Aethelstane as '*gener regis*' and calls the Oswig of the chronicles C, D and E Oswius. He similarly calls Eadwig Eadwius. He adds Hertford to the counties named in

the chronicle as ravaged, and says that the Danes finished by wasting Wiltshire. MS. A of J. W. has the gloss: 'defuncto Osbrihto Saelesiensis episcopo successit Almarus.'

1011. The first clause is from M. Sc.; the rest in a large measure follows the chronicles C, D, E and F, but is somewhat epitomised. J. W. also had Osbern's life of St. Aelfege before him. He styles the traitor Almarus 'archidiaconus' and in regard to the capture of Canterbury he says: 'pars civitatis incenditur, exercitus ingreditur, urbs capitur: alii ferro jugulantur, alii flammis consumuntur, pluresque quoque de muris praecipites dantur, nonnulli per verenda suspensi deficiunt. Matronae crinibus per plateas civitatis distractae, demum flammis injectae moriuntur. Parvuli a matrum uberibus avulsi aut lanceis excipiuntur, aut superacto carro minutatim conteruntur.' He speaks of Leofruna as the abbess of St Mildred's monastery and of Godwine as bishop of Rochester and says the Danes allowed Almarus to remain abbot of St. Augustine's, and then continues: 'Alfredus regis praepositus monachi quoque et clerici populusque utriusque sexus innumerabilis. Exin ecclesia Christi spoliata comburitur, grex monachilis et turba virilis, sed et muliebris necnon infantilis, decimatur, novem trucidantur, decimus vitae reservatur. Quatuor monachis et dccc viris decimatorum summa perficitur. Populo casso, urbe spoliata et tota cremata, archipraesul Alfeagus vinctus extrahitur, impellitur, graviter sauciatur, ad classem ducitur, post in carcerem retraditur, ibique vii mensibus affingitur. Interea ira Dei in homicidam populum desaeviens ex eis duo millia per diros internorum cruciatus prostravit. Caeteri quoque simili modo percussi a fidelibus commonentur ut pontifici satisfaciant; sed differunt. Praevaluit interim clades, et nunc denos, nunc vicanos, nunc plures absumpsit.'

1012. J. W. follows the chronicles A, B, C and D.

1013. In this annal J. W. follows the chronicles C, D, E and F pretty closely, except in the omission of one or two short clauses, but has some variants. Thus he says that the sum which the Danes demanded for the ransom of the archbishop's life was three thousand pounds. He also tells us a grim detail, not in the chronicle. He says: 'Ad ultimum quidam Thrum nomine,

quem confirmarat pridie, impia motus pietate, securim capiti illius infixit.' He calls Eadnoth bishop of Lincoln. This is impossible, as the see was not there till later. He was really bishop of Dorchester. These details doubtless come from the life of St. Alfege by Osbern.

1013. In this clause, while J. W. generally follows the chronicle, he has some additional notices. Thus he says that Swegen planted a fortress at Gainsborough. It is curious that he leaves the phrase 'Fifburgenses' (i.e. the five boroughs) untranslated. Of Watling street he says: 'strata quam filii Weatlae regis ab orientali mare usque ad occidentale per Angliam straverunt.' After describing the giving of hostages J. W. says Swegen marched against the southern Mercians ('australes Mercios movit') and describes the ravaging of the country south of Watling street in some rhetorical phrases not in the chronicle. Of London he says that Swegen 'multis modis illam vel dolo capere, vel vi expugnare conatus est.' After the submission of Aethelred and the western men to Swegen, where the chronicle says 'all the nation considered Swegen as full king,' J. W. says: 'quibus omnibus ad velle peractis, ad suam classem reversus ab omni Anglorum populo rex, si rex jure queat vocari qui fere cuncta tyrannice faciebat, et appellabatur et habebatur.' J. W. says that after sending his family to Normandy (Simeon of Durham adds 'cum thesauris') Aethelred remained a while with the Danish fleet ('Danica classe mansit') which lay at Greenwich on the Thames. The chronicle implies that it was his own fleet he was with. He then went to the Isle of Wight and spent Christmas there. In regard to Swegen's booty J. W. says: 'tributum fere importabile solvi praecepit.' Simeon of Durham says that when Aethelred took refuge in Normandy 'Rothomagi omne incolatus sui exegit tempus cum magnis opum apparatibus.' In MS. A of J.W. we have the additional phrase, 'post Livingum exstitit Wellensis episcopus Aethelwinus.'

1014. This annal follows the chronicle closely. See also Hermmanus, 'de miraculis S. Edwardi.' Simeon of Durham says Swegen was buried at York. When Aethelred, who was in Normandy, sent his son Eadward to interview the grandees of the country to deliberate

about offers of peace to the enemy, J. W. says: 'Ad haec principes se non amplius Danicum regem admissuros in Angliam unanimiter sponponderunt.' J. W. says the tribute agreed to by Aethelred was thirty thousand pounds, the chronicle says twenty-one thousand. In describing Canute's war with Aethelred the chronicle makes the former uniformly successful, while J. W. seems to say that he was compelled to retire from Lindsey and for a while forced to shelter at Sandwich. M. Sc. gives this year an annal interesting to us which is inserted by J. W. but omitted as usual in the later editions of the latter. He says: 'Brian rex Hiberniae parasceve paschae feria vi, ix kal. Maii manibus et mente ad Deum intentus occiditur; cui successit Donchad filius suus li annis, nec quartam partem Hiberniae regnavit.'

1015. Here again J. W. follows the three manuscripts of the chronicle above named. He leaves the words 'seovenburgensibus' (seven boroughs) and 'fifburhgingos' (five boroughs) untranslated; he names the father of Sigeferth and Morker, who is not mentioned in the chronicle, Earngrim. He calls their possessions 'facultates' and says the widow of Sigeferth Aldgitha, whom Sigeferth had abandoned, was ordered by Aethelred to be sent to Malmesbury (Maidulfi urbem). Her name is not in the chronicle. He dates the rape of Aldgitha by the aetheling Eadmund 'inter assumptionem et nativitatem sanctae Mariae'; the chronicle merely says 'before the nativity'. In MS. A of J. W. a gloss says: 'Defuncto Aethelwaldo Wintoniensi episcopo successit Aelsius, eique Elwinus.'

1016. In this very long annal J. W. generally follows the chronicle, but not always. He dates Canute's advance into Mercia 'ante Epiphaniam Domini.' The chronicle says in Midwintertide. He qualifies the name Eadmundus with the cognomen 'ferreum latus,' and says it was the Danes and West Saxons who refused to join the Mercians unless the king was with them. He tells us that the name of the murderer of earl Uhtred of Northumbria was Thurebrand, whom he styles 'nobili et Danico viro,' which is not in the chronicle. He calls the new earl of Northumbria Egric instead of the Yric of the chronicle. He adds an obituary notice of Aethelred which is not in the chronicle.

It runs thus: 'Rex Anglorum Aethelredus xiv indictione, nono kal. Maii, feria ii, Lundoniae defunctus est post magnos labores et multas vitae suae tribulationes: quas super illum venturas, regalis consecrationis suae die post impositam coronam prophetico spiritu sanctus ei praedixerat Dunstanus. "Quoniam" inquit "aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua propterea audi verbum Domini. Haec dicit Dominus: Non deficiet gladius de domo tua saeviens in te omnibus diebus vitae tuae, interficiens de semine tuo, quousque regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum, cuius ritum et linguam gens cui praesides non novit. Nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta peccatum tuum et peccatum matris tuae et peccatum virorum qui interfuere consilio ejus nequam."' The latter part of this comes from Osbern's life of Dunstan. He further tells us that the body of the king was buried at St. Paul's and goes on to say that on his death the bishops, abbots, ealdormen ('duces') and other English nobles met together and elected Canute as king and went to him at Southampton, when all the family of Aethelred made peace with and swore allegiance to him. Of this we have nothing in the chronicles. He then goes on to say that the citizens of London and the portion of the nobility which was there proceeded unanimously to elect the aetheling Eadmund as king. This is barely mentioned in the chronicle, where it is said that all the 'witan' who were in London so elected him.

The narrative now continues as in the chronicle, except that J. W. has some rhetorical embellishments about the fighting between Eadmund and Canute. After describing the resistance of the garrison of London, J. W. has an analogous phrase. He says: 'Quapropter obsidione ad tempus dimissa exercitusque parte ad naves custodiendas relictas, in West-Saxoniam abierunt propere et regi Eadmundo ferreolateri spatium congregandi exercitum non dedere. Quibus tamen ille cum exercitu, quem in tantillo spatio congregaverat, Dei fretus auxilio audacter in Dorsetania occurrit, etc.' He says further that Scearstan, where a drawn battle was fought, was in 'Hwiccia' which is not stated in the chronicle. He also gives us the name of an additional adherent of the traitor Eadric Streona ('dux perfidissimus' as he calls him at this time),

namely Algar, 'son of Meawes,' and says that they with others who are named in the chronicle failed to join Eadmund with the men of Wiltshire and Hampshire (*Sutham tunensibus*), and continues thus: '*Primo die belli Lunae scilicet die, tam durum tamque cruentum exstitit proelium ut uterque exercitus prae lassitudine diutius non valens pugnare sole jam occidente, ab invicem sit digressus spontanea voluntate. Sed postera die rex Danos protereret omnes, si perfidi ducis Edrici Streonae non essent insidiae. Siquidem cum pugna vehemens esset et Anglos fortiores esse cerneret, cujusdam viri regi Eadmundo facie capillisque simillimi, Osmeari nomine, capite amputato et in alto levato exclamat Anglos frustra pugnare dicens: Vos Dorsetenses, Domnani, Wiltonenses, amisso capite praecipites fugite: en domini vestri caput Eadmundi basilli hic teneo manibus: cedite quantocius. Quod ubi Angli acceperere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuntii terrentur. Unde factum est, ut inconstantiores quique paulum a fuga abessent; sed illico quod rex videret, comperto, animos tollebant, et in Danos acrius incedebant ex illisque multos prosternebant summis certantes viribus usque ad crepusculum noctis: qua adveniente ut pridie, digressi sunt spontaneae. At ubi multum noctis processit, Canutus e castris suos abire silentio jussit et versus Lundoniam iter arripiens ad naves repedavit; ac non multo post Lundoniam reobsedit.*' None of this fine passage, so full of life and incident, is in the existing chronicle.

Canute now marched again to London and proceeded to besiege it. Meanwhile Eadmund collected another army in Wessex and made friends with his treacherous brother-in-law ('sororius') Eadric and marched towards London and raised the siege there. J. W. says of one part of the campaign of the Danes: '*Pedestres in flumen quod Meadeweage nuncupatur navibus devehuntur, equestres vero vivam praedam per terram minantur.*' J. W. mentions a victory at 'Ottaford' won by Eadmund. This is not named in the chronicle. He calls the people of Hereford 'Magesetenses' and styles Eadnoth, one of the victims of the Danish slaughter, bishop of Lincoln. He was really bishop of Dorchester, the see of Lincoln not having been yet founded, and he says of him: '*Ramesegensis*

quondam prepositus' (i.e. abbot), and says of him and abbot Wulsius: 'qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente convenerant interfecti sunt.'

J. W. tells us that when the two kings agreed to make peace, Eadmund and his men remained west of the Severn while Canute and his men were on the east of the river and they met on an island called Olney (Olaneg) in the middle of the river. He also says that in regard to the division of the kingdom 'West-Saxoniam, East-Angliam, East-Saxoniam cum Lundonia Canuto: corona tamen regni Eadmundo remansit.' The last phrase is interesting and notable.

The last part of the annal is only found in J. W. Referring to the death of king Eadmund he says: 'Cujus post mortem rex Canutus omnes episcopos et duces, necnon et principes cunctosque optimates gentis Angliae, Lundoniae congregare jussit. Qui cum venissent ante eum, quasi nesciens, interrogavit eos sagacissime, qui fuerunt testes inter eum et Eadmundum, quando conventionem amicitiae et divisionem regni inter ipsos gesserunt, qualiter ipse et Eadmundus de fratribus et filiis ejusdem inter se locuti fuissent; utrum fratribus et filiis ejus liceret in regno occidentalium Saxonum post patrem eorum regnare, si Eadmundus moreretur vivente illo. At illi coeperunt dicere, se procul dubio scire quod rex Eadmundus fratribus suis nullam portionem regni sui, nec se spirante nec moriente, commendasset dixeruntque hoc se nosse, Eadmundum regem velle Canutum adiutorem et protectorem esse filiorum ejus, donec regnandi aetatem habuissent. Verum illi, testante Deo, falsum perhibuerunt testimonium et fraudulenter mentiti sunt, existimantes illum sibi et mitiorem esse propter mendacium eorum, et se ab eo praemium sumptuosum magnum: ex quibus falsis testibus quidam, post non longum tempus ab eodem rege sunt interfecti. Tunc rex Canutus post supradictam interrogationem conatus est a praefatis optimatibus fidelia juramenta recipere. At ipsi juraverunt illi quod eum regem sibi eligere vellent, eique humiliter obedire, et suo exercitui vectigalia dare: et accepto pignore de manu sua nuda, cum juramentis a principibus Danorum, fratres et filios Eadmundi omnino despexerunt, eosque esse regis negaverunt. Unus autem ex ipsis praefatis clitonibus

erat Eadwius egregius ac reverendissimus regis Eadmundi germanus quem ibidem cum consilio pessimo exulem esse debere constituerunt. Et cum audisset Canutus rex adulationem supradictorum et despectionem quam fecerunt in Eadwium gaudens introivit in cameram suam vocansque ad se perfidum ducem Edricum, sciscitabatur ab eo quomodo decipere valisset Eadwium, ut mortis subiret periculum. Qui respondens dixit se scire quendam virum alium, Aethelwardum nomine, qui se facilius eum in mortem tradere quivisset, cum quo colloquium habere posset, illique nimiam mercedem promittere. Cognito autem viri nomine, vocavit eum rex ad se, astutissime dicens : Sic et sic allocutus est me dux Edricus, dicens te posse seducere Eadwium clitonem, ut occidatur. Modo acquiesce consiliis nostris, et potieris omni honore et dignitate patrum tuorum, et quaere mihi caput ejus, et eris mihi carior fratre germano. Ille vero dicebat se velle eum quaerere ut interficeretur, si ullo modo valisset. Verumtamen nondum illum necare volebat, sed propter excusationem hoc promittebat : erat enim ille ex nobilissimo genere Anglorum ortus.

In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss : 'Reverendus vir Leofsius Thorniensis abbas suscepit episcopatum Wigorniensis ecclesiae.'

1017. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next about the division of England into four parts is from the chronicle C, D, E and F. Then comes a phrase not in the extant chronicles. It runs thus : 'Foedus etiam cum principibus et omni populo ipse et ille cum ipso percusserant ; et amicitiam firmam inter se juramentis stabilierunt, omnesque veteres inimicitias postponentes sedaverunt.' This is followed by another clause which is not in the chronicles and must have come from some copy no longer extant, possibly from the Mercian annals, namely : 'Dein consilio perfidi ducis Edrici, rex Canutus clitonem Eadwium, regis Eadmundi germanum, et Eadwium, exlegavit. Verum sequenti tempore cum rege pacificatus est Eadwius.'

J. W. adds that Canute, again moved by Edric, had the two Eadwys put to death. He translates 'Eadwy ceorla kynung' of MSS. D and E of the chronicle by 'Edwius rex rusticorum.' He then continues : 'Dedit

etiam consilium Edricus, ut clitunculos Eadwardum et Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur ut in Anglia perimerentur, parvo elapso tempore ad regem Suauorum¹ occidendos misit. Qui licet foedus esset inter eos precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquiescere; sed illos ad regem Hungarorum, Salomonem nomine, misit nutriendos, vitaeque reservandos. Quorum unus, scilicet Eadmundus, processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit, Eadwardus vero Agatham, filiam Germani imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit; ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam et Christinam sanctimoniam virginem, et clitonem Eadgarum suscepit. Mense Julio rex Canutus derelictam regis Aethelredi reginam Alfgivam in conjugium accepit. Then follows the execution of Eadric at the instance of Canute, which is barely mentioned in the chronicle. J. W. adds that he feared he would be undone by his treacheries, as his predecessors Aethelred and Eadmund had been, and adds that his body was thrown over the city wall and there left unburied. 'Cum quo,' he continues, 'dux Normannus filius Leofwini ducis, frater scilicet Leofrici comitis et Aethelwardus filius Agelmari ducis et Brihtricus filius Alphegi, Domnaniensis satrapae, sine culpa interfecti sunt. Leofricum pro Normanno germano suo rex constituit ducem, et eum postmodum valde charum habuit.'

J. W. has made a mistake in this annal in calling the Hungarian king Solomon instead of Stephen, who was king of Hungary from 997 to 1038. Solomon did not mount the throne till 1063. This makes it clear that the paragraph was not compiled till after the latter date. This is confirmed when we find that one copy of the chronicle does not mention the expatriation of the two princes till 1057, where it is mentioned in the poem in MS D. In MS. B of J. W. we have a considerable addition in the shape of a gloss. It reads thus: 'Pius pastor abbas Abbendoniae Wulgarus obiit, anno xxviii ex quo illum divina pietas eidem ecclesiae praefecit. Cujus abbatis industria vigilante, nec non et Dei misericordia protegente, inter tam dissidentes in Anglia motus, coenobium

¹ By Suauorum J. W. clearly means the Swedes (vide infra under the year 1031).

Abbdendonense a Danorum devastatione permansit immune ; cum dextra laevaue hostium incursio passim loca universa subrueret, aut si benevolentior fieret, maximo sese pretio habitatores eorum redimere sineret. Cui in pastoralitate domnus Adelwinus successit : quem rex Kanutus pro laudabilis vitae merito secretorum suorum conscium efficiens, a noxiis sese retrahere ac recta appetere ejus suasionibus studebat. Hinc et coenobium Abbdendonense a rege diligitur et muneribus ejus cumulatur. Nam inter alia sua donaria capsam de argento et auro parari fecit, in qua sancti Vincentii levitae et martyris reliquiae collocarentur.¹

1018. This annal is like the chronicles C, D and E, but D is the only one in which Eadgar's law is referred to as it is in J. W. while E has an extra clause about the death of the abbot Aeðelsege at Abingdon and the succession of Aeðelwine. Simeon of Durham makes the sum exacted by the Danes 15,000 pounds, and not 10,500 as in J. W. He also has another notable addition in this year. It reads thus : 'Aldunus episcopus Dunholmensis obiit. Ingens bellum apud Carrum gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymbrorum Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottorum ; cum quo fecit in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Lutuensium.'

1019. This again is exactly like C and E and doubtless from C. D mentions the number of ships taken to Denmark by Canute, namely nine, which is not in J. W. and also gives the death of Eahlstan, styled Lifing, archbishop of Canterbury. J. W. puts this obit in 1020 with C, E and F, and like them calls him merely Living.

In MS. A of J. W. is the gloss : 'Defuncto Aelmaro Saelesiensis episcopo, successit Aethelricus.'

1020. The first clause is from M. Sc. The next one about the return of Canute and the 'gemot' at Cirencester is in C, D and E. The next one is the obit of archbishop Living, for which see the previous entry. J. W. alone says that his successor was called 'the good' ('bonus') and adds that he was the son of the noble man Aegelmar. In regard to the church at Assandun

¹ *M.H.B.* 594, 4.

J. W. says 'in monte qui Assandum dicitur construxerant.' It is mentioned only in C, D and partially in F. MS. A of J. W. adds that it was founded by Canute and Turkill. The obit of Aldhun, bishop of Lindisfarne, is given only by J. W. who reports a curious and amusing story about what happened when the see was vacant. He says: 'tribus pene annis ecclesia pastorali destituebatur solatio. Facto in unum conventu, cum de episcopi electione tractaretur, religiosus presbiter quidam, Eadmundus nomine, supervenit et jocosè dixit; Cur me episcopum non eligitis? Cujus jocum non jocosè accipere qui aderant, sed elegerunt illum et in triduo indicto jejuniò sancti Cuthberti velle super hoc quaerebant. Celebrante presbitero missam ad caput ipsius sancti in medio canone, quasi de ejusdem patris sepulchro, vox audita est, quae tribus verbis Eadmundum episcopum nominavit.'

1021. The first clause is from M. Sc. The expulsion of Turkill is in MSS. C, D, E and F. J. W. alone mentions that of his wife Eadgitha. The obit of Algar, bishop of the east Saxons, is given only by D, which, however, calls him 'the almsgiver' as in J. W. and gives the precise date, which is not in J. W. The latter alone mentions his successor Aldwin.

1022. The journey of archbishop Aethelnoð to Rome and his consecration by the pope are both stated in MSS. C, D, E and F. C, like J. W. mentions only his going to Rome, while the other three manuscripts have a number of details not in J. W.

1023. The eclipse of the sun is from M. Sc. The translation of St. Alphege as told in J. W. is in MSS. C, D and F. D mentions the translation, but omits that the remains were moved from London to Canterbury. The obit of St. Wulstan and the succession of Aelfric are in E and F, not in C or D, but J. W. alone gives the correct date, namely, 'quinto kal. Junii, feria tertia' (i.e. the 28th of May) and tells us his body was buried at Ely (Heli), which shows the notice came from some other source than the extant chronicles in the manuscript followed by J. W. J. W. calls Aelfric 'Aelfricus Puttoc Wintoniensis prepositus.' MS. B of J. W. reads Wuttunc for Puttoc in a gloss.¹

¹ M.H.B. 595, 3.

1024. The English chronicles are vacant this year, except for a Norman entry in Latin in E. All this annal in J. W. is from M. Sc.

1025. J. W. alone has the obit of Eadmund, bishop of Lindisfarne. It is not in any of the chronicles. A gloss to M. Sc. equates 'Balonis monte' with 'Babenburg.'

1026. The English part of this annal in J. W. is only in D. The Norman part is like E, where it occurs in Latin, and both probably come from the Rouen annals, unless E was copying J. W.

1027. This annal in J. W. has nothing corresponding in the extant chronicles. It refers to the intercourse of Canute and Olaf, king of Norway, and reads thus: 'Cum regi Anglorum et Danorum Canuto intimatum fuisset quod Norregani regem suum Olavum propter ejus simplicitatem et mansuetudinem, aequitatem et religiositatem, nimis vili penderent, multum auri et argenti quibusdam illorum misit, multis rogans petitionibus, ut illo spreto et abjecto deditionem illi facerent ac illum super se regnare permitterent. Qui, cum ea quae miserat aviditate magna suscepissent, ei remandari jusserunt ad illum suscipiendum se paratos fore quandocumque vellet venire.'

1028. The first part of this annal is like MSS. D and E. The second part is as follows: 'Eodem anno natus est Marianus Hibernensis probabilis Scotus, cujus studio et labore haec chronica praecellens de diversis libris est coadunata.' In M. Sc. it reads thus: 'ego miser Marianus in peccatis fui in hoc anno natus.'

1029. The return of Canute to England is mentioned in MSS. D, E and F. J. W. calls him 'rex Anglorum, Danorum et Norreganorum.' The rest of the annal, which is not in the extant chronicles, runs thus: 'Post festivitatem sancti Martini Danicum comitem Hacun, qui nobilem matronam Gunildam sororis suae et Wyrtegeorni regis Winidorum filiam in matrimonio habuit, quasi legationis causa in exilium misit. Timebat enim ab illo vel vita privari vel regno expelli.'

1030. This annal is not in the extant chronicles. It runs thus: 'Praedictus comes Hacun in mari periit: quidam tamen dicunt eum fuisse occisum in Orcada insula.'

Sanctus Olavus rex et martir, Haroldi regis Norreganorum filius, in Norregia injuste peremittitur a Norreganis.'

In MS. B. of J. W. we have the additional clause: 'Venerabilis abbas Abbendoniae Adelwinus obiit; cui ex hac vita decedenti Siwardus ex Glastoniensi coenobio monachus successit, tam saecularium quam ecclesiasticarum vigore admodum fultus.'

1031. The chronicle merely mentions the journey of Canute to Rome. J. W. adds details of his visit. He says: 'Canutus rex Anglorum, Danorum et Norreganorum de Danemarchia magno cum honore Romam ivit,¹ et sancto Petro apostolorum principi ingentia dona in auro et argento aliisque rebus pretiosis obtulit; et ab Johanne papa ut scholam Anglorum ab omni tributo et thelone liberaret impetravit; et in eundo et redeundo largas pauperibus eleemosynas erogavit ac multas per viam clausuras ubi thelon a peregrinis extorquebatur, ingenti pretio dato dissipavit. Hic etiam ante sepulchrum apostolorum suae vitae morumque emendationem Deo devovit; Livingum, tunc Tavestokensis ecclesiae abbatem, post vero mox eodem anno in Cridiatunensis ecclesiae pontificatu Eadnothi successorem, qui sibi comes itineris exstitit, aliosque suos legatos Angliam misit, dum ipse Roma rediens per viam quam ierat, Denemarciam priusquam Angliam peteret. Cujus epistolae textum hic subscribere dignum duximus.' The letter was addressed by Canute, king of all England, of the Danes, Norwegians and part of the Swedes ('partis Suavorum'), to Athelnoth, metropolitan, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and all the bishops and primates ('et primatibus') of all the Anglian nation as well noble as plebeian.' The letter is given at length by J. W. and he was, so far as I know, the first person to publish it. It is also given by William of Malmesbury in his *de Gestis Regum*, book ii, ch. 11, and by that much discredited annalist, Ingulfus, and is translated in full and inserted by Thorpe in his translation of Lappenberg's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, so that it need not be repeated here.

¹ The date given for this visit by J. W. following MS. D of the chronicle, the only manuscript which mentions it, is an extraordinary blunder to have made about so

notable an event. The real date is 1027, as stated by Wippo, the contemporary and biographer of Conrad the second, who was at Rome with Canute.

The annal concludes with a sentence from M. Sc. It is curious that MS. A of J. W. calls the king of Burgundy Robertus and not Rudolfus.

1032. This annal, which merely reports the dedication of the church of St. Eadmund the martyr, is not in any of the extant A. S. chronicles, and probably comes from a life of the saint. Simeon of Durham adds: 'In qua rex Canutus monachos posuit, ejectis presbiteris. Ignis multis in locis per Angliam desaevit. Efsige Wintoniensis episcopus obiit. Elfwinus presbiter regis successit.' The chronicle of Melrose says 'Canutus communi consilio praesulum et optimatum suorum, ejectis presbiteris secularibus monachos imposuit.'

1033. The obit of bishop Leofsius (styled 'magnae religionis et modestiae vir' by J. W.), his burial at Worcester and his succession by Brihteag in this annal are to be found in addition only in MS. D of the chronicle. J. W. adds that he was bishop of the Hwicci and that he died in the episcopal 'villa' of Kemeseia (Kempsey), on 'xiv kal. Sept. feria tertia.'¹ He also mentions St. Mary's as the church where he was buried ('tumulatur honorifice') and adds that Brihteag, abbot of Pershore and son of the sister of Wulstan, archbishop of York, was appointed in his place.

1034. This annal in J. W. is in substance like D. He adds to it only that Aetheric was bishop of Lincoln (*sic*, really Dorchester) and was succeeded by Eadnoth. Malcolm's death is from D. It is curious that J. W. should have omitted part of the Scottish annal reported by M. Sc. This reads: 'Moelcoluim rex Scotiae obiit vii kal. Decembris. Donchad filius filiae ejus sibi successit.' Simeon of Durham says that Malcolm was succeeded by Macbethad.

1035. The first clause relating to Norway is peculiar to J. W. It reads: 'Canutus rex Anglorum ante suum obitum super Norreganos regem constituit Suenum, qui suus et Northamtunensis Alfgivae, filiae videlicet Alfdhelmi ducis et nobilis matronae Wulfrunae, dicebatur filius; quem tamen nonnulli asserebant non regis et ejusdem Alfgivae filium exstitisse, sed eandem Alfgivam

¹ Petrie says this date answers to 1035: *M.H.B.* 597, note b.

ex rege filium habere voluisse sed nequivisse et idcirco recenter natum infantem cujusdam presbyteri sibi afferri jussisse, regemque omnino credulum fecisse se filium illi jam peperisse. Super Danos etiam suum Alfgivae reginae filium Hardecanutum regem constituit.' The next passage is from the chronicle, MS. C or D.

In regard to the parentage of Harold son of Canute, J. W. discusses the ambiguity in the following words: 'Licet id verum esset minime; dicunt enim nonnulli filium cujusdam sutoris illum fuisse sed Alfgivam eodem modo de illo fecisse, quo de Suano fertur egisse. Nos vero quia res in dubio agitur, de neutrorum genitura quid certi scivimus definire.'

The question is raised only in MSS. C and D of the chronicle and they contradict one another. C, contradicting Harold's claim, says: 'peh hit na soð naes,' i.e. though it was not sooth; while D omits the negative. C and D also alone mention Harold's appropriation of Hardecanute's stepmother's property at Winchester. J. W. then continues: 'non tamen ita potenter ut Canutus, quia justior haeres expectabatur Hardecanutus. Unde brevi post tempore regnum Angliae sorte dividitur, et Haroldo pars septentrionalis, Hardecanuto provenit australis.' None of this is in the chronicles, and it seems very doubtful.

The next clause in J. W. is doubtless from the Rouen annals. It reads: 'Obiit Rotbertus dux Normannorum, cui successit Willelmus Bastard, filius ejus, in puerili aetate.' The last words are from M. Sc.

1036. The first clause is from M. Sc. who writes as follows: 'Propter districtam disciplinamque nimiam et propter aliquos Scottos quos secum habebat Helias Scottus abbas, qui monasterium sancti Pantaleonis et sancti Martini in Colonia pariter regebat, Peligrinus Coloniensis episcopus invidis viris instigatus Heliae ait nisi usque dum ipse Peligrinus de curte regis revertisset, nec Helias neque alius Scottus in monasterio Pantalionis fuisset. Tunc Helias atque alii Scotti quibus episcopus dixit condixerunt: si Christus in ipsis fuit peregrinus ne unquam ad Coloniam vivus venisset de curte episcopus Peligrinus. Et ita Dominus complevit: atque Helias duo monasteria regnavit.' The next one is about the murder of prince Alfred. J. W. says: 'Innocentes clitones

Alfredus et Eadwinus Aethelredi quondam regis Anglorum filii, de Normannicis ubi cum avunculo suo Ricardo manserant tempore longo, multis Normannicis militibus secum assumptis, in Angliam paucis transvecti navibus.' He makes Godwin the chief of the opponents of Alfred: 'ut fertur comes Godwinus. Hic quidem Alfredum cum versus Lundoniam ad regis Haroldi colloquium ut mandarat properaret retinuit et arcta in custodia posuit.' Among the cruelties inflicted on Alfred's followers he says: 'et manibus ac pedibus amputatis mutilavit, multos etiam vendi jussit; et mortibus variis ac miserabilibus apud Gildesfordam dc. viros occidit . . . Quo audito regina Alfgiva filium suum Eadwardum qui secum remansit, maxima cum festinatione Normanniam remisit.' As to Alfred, he was blinded and taken to Ely and put in charge of the monks, 'ubi brevi post tempore de hac migravit luce.' In regard to the rest of the annal, to which J. W. has added the portions cited, no part of it is in E and F. It is only in C and D, and, as in D there is no mention of Godwin, it doubtless came from C.

1037. A considerable part of this annal is from C or D; part of it only is from E and F. Where they say Bruges, J. W. says Flanders. Where they call the dean of Evesham Aefic he calls him Avicus. The end of the annal is from M. Sc.

1038. The first sentence cannot have come from the chronicles, since C and D do not give the date of the obit of the archbishop and E and F omit the number iv from kal. Nov. nor do they give the date of Aegelric's succession to the South Saxon see.

J. W. calls Eadsius (Eadsige) 'regis capellanus.' He says that Harold gave Brihteag's see on his death to Lyfing who had been bishop of Crediton. In the place of Alfric he put Stigand 'regis capellanus.' It is noticeable that Stigand, whose career was a sordid one, is not mentioned in the chronicles at this time. Of him J. W. says further: 'sed postmodum ejectus et Grimketel pro eo est electus¹ habuitque duas parochias, tunc austrarium Saxonum ut orientalium Anglorum, sed iterum Stigandus receptus et Grimketel est ejectus; et Stigandus quidem austrarium

¹ MS. A has the addition: 'Suth-Saxonum episcopus pro auro.'

Saxonum episcopatum tenuit et fratri suo Agelmaro orientalium Anglorum praesulatum acquisivit: minimumque id animositati suae ratus Wintoniensem et Cantuariensem thronos ascendit, vixque aegre exoratus ut australibus Saxonibus proprius ordinaretur episcopus.' This passage about Stigand is not in MS. B. of J. W. and Petrie suggests it was interpolated from William of Malmesbury's *de Cest. Pont.*: 'Post Agelmarum fuit Elmhamnensis episcopus Arfastus, qui ne nihil fecisse videretur, ut sunt Normanni famae in futurum studiosissimi, episcopatum de Helmham transtulit ad Theotfordum.' These most interesting entries are not in the chronicle.

1039. The first clause is from M. Sc. Wippo says that the emperor died 'non Jun ferea.' The obit of Brihtmaer, bishop of Lichfield, is contained in C. J. W. alone mentions the succession of Wulsius. The rest of the annal is in C, which alone among the chronicles has an entry this year. J. W. adds only that Turkill and Alfgeat were the sons of Eatsius. He substitutes 'Flandria' for 'Brugge' in the penultimate clause. The concluding clause is again from M. Sc. M. Sc. also has this year an interesting notice not in J. W. which runs thus: 'Richardus Fuldensis felicitis memoriae obiit xiii kal. Augusti. Hic etiam multos sanctos Scottigenae gentis viros in commune fratrum habebat, atque caminatum et dormitorium ipsis seorsum simul et inter fratres subministrabat sicut pater.'

1040. The greater part of this long annal is not in any of the extant copies of the chronicle. In E and F the death of Harold is put in 1039; C and D with J. W. put it in 1040. The latter says he died in London, E says at Oxford, C and D do not mention the place. E and F alone, like J. W. say he was buried at Westminster, while E alone gives the date of Harold's death, which is not in J. W. This is evidence that he did not copy E. In the next phrase J. W. then adds a long account of the indignities heaped on Harold's body which are not mentioned in the extant chronicles. He says: 'Nam mox ut regnare coepit, injuriarum, quas vel sibi vel suae genetrici suus antecessor fecerat rex Haroldus, qui frater suus putabatur, non immemor, Alfricum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, Godwinum comitem, Stir majorem

domus, Edricum dispensatorem, Thronum suum carnificem, et alios magnae dignitatis viros Lundoniam misit: et ipsius Haroldi corpus effodere et in gronnam projicere jussit. Quod cum projectum fuisset, id extrahere, et in flumen Thamense mandavit projicere. Brevi autem post tempore, a quodam piscatore captum est, et ad Danos allatum sub festinatione in cimiterio quod habuerunt Lundoniae sepultum est ab ipsis cum honore.' The next phrase about the tax levied on the English is in MSS. C and D of the chronicle, but the two chronicles give none of the above details and merely report the taking up of Harold's body and its being cast into a bog or ditch. We then have in J. W. a considerable paragraph which again occurs nowhere else. It reads thus: 'Ad haec etiam pro nece sui fratris Alfredi, adversus Godwinum comitem et Wigorniensem episcopum Livingum, accusantibus illos Alfrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo et quibusdam aliis exarsit ira magna. Idcirco episcopatum Wignorniensem Livingo abstulit, et Alfrico dedit: sed sequenti anno ablatum Alfrico, Livingo secum pacificato benigne reddidit. Godwinus autem regi pro sua amicitia dedit trierem fabrefactam, caput deauratum habentem, armamentis optimis instructam, decoris armis electisque lxxx militibus decoratam. Quorum unusquisque habebat duas in suis brachiis aureas armillas, sedecim uncias pendentes, lorica triplicem indutam, in capite cassidem ex parte deauratam, gladium deauratis capulis renibus accinctum, Danicam securim auro argentoque redimitam in sinistro humero pendentem, in manu sinistra clipeum, cujus umbo claviq[ue] erant deaurati, in dextram lanceam, quae lingua Anglorum "ategar" appellatur. Insuper etiam non sui consilii nec suae voluntatis fuisse, quod frater ejus caecatus fuisset sed dominum suum regem Haroldum illum facere quod fecit jussisse, cum totius fere Angliae principibus et ministris dignioribus regi juravit.' None of this is in any of the extant chronicles.

M. Sc. has the following entry not in J. W.: 'Donnchad rex Scotiae in autumno occiditur (xix kal. September) a duce suo Macbethad mac Finnloech cui successit in regnum annis xvii.'

1041. Here again is an annal containing several details about the ravaging of Worcestershire not in the extant

chronicles. The entry in C and D, which merely states the fact and says it was due to the murder of two of the king's tax collectors, looks like an epitome of a longer form followed by J. W. The entry is still shorter in E and F, which date the event in 1040.

J. W.'s account reads thus : 'Hoc anno rex Anglorum Hardecanutus suos huscarlas misit per omnes regni sui provincias ad exigendum quod indixerat tributum. Ex quibus duos, Feader scilicet et Turstan, Wigornienses provinciales cum civibus seditione exorta in cujusdam turris Wigorniensis monasterii solario, quo celandi causa confugerant, quarto nonas Maii, feria secunda, peremerunt. Unde rex ira commotus ob ultionem necis illorum, Thurum Mediterraneorum, Leofricum Merciorum, Godwinum West-Saxonum, Siwardum Northimbrorum, Ronum Magesetensium et caeteros totius Angliae comites, omnesque ferme suos huscarlas, cum magno exercitu, Alfrico adhuc pontificatum Wigorniensem tenente, illo misit ; mandans ut omnes viros si possint occiderent, civitatem depredatam incenderent totamque provinciam devastarent. Qui die veniente secundo iduum Novembris et civitatem et provinciam devastare coeperunt, idque per iv dies agere non cessaverunt : sed paucos vel e civibus vel provincialibus ceperunt aut occiderunt, quia praecognito adventu eorum provinciales quoque locorum fugerant. Civium vero multitudo in quandam modicam insulam, in medio Sabrinae fluminis sitam quae Beverege nuncupatur, confugerant : et munitione facta tam diu se viriliter adversus suos inimicos defenderant quoad pace recuperata, libere domum licuerit eis redire. Quinta igitur die civitate cremata, unusquisque magna cum praeda rediit in sua ; et regis statim quievit ira.' The rest of the annal is in MSS. C and D of the chronicle. It is curious that two sentences in these copies of the chronicle, one about the king's treachery to earl Eadulf and the other about the ordination of bishop Agelric of Durham at York, are entirely overlooked by J. W. which points to his story having here again been drawn from an entirely different source.

1042. Here again J. W. gives several details not in the extant chronicles. Thus in regard to the death of the king he says : 'Dum in convivio, in quo Osgodus Clapa,

magnae vir potentiae, filiam suam Githam Danico et praepotenti viro Tovio, Prudan cognomento, in loco qui dicitur Lamhithe, magna cum laetitia tradebat nuptui, laetus, sospes et hilaris cum sponsa praedicta et quibusdam viris bibens staret, repente inter bibendum miserabili casu ad terram corruit.' This is greatly epitomised in MSS. C and D, which say nothing of the banquet but merely that he died at his drink. E and F merely give his obit. His burial at Winchester near his father is mentioned only in MSS. E and F and by J. W. MS. E adds that he was buried in the old minster. J. W. goes on to say 'cujus frater Eadwardus, annitentibus maxime comite Godwino et Wigorniensi praesule Livingo, Lundoniae levatur,' and ends with his pedigree up to Alfred. MS. D says merely that all the people received Eadward for king as was his natural right. The part about Helias, the Scotie abbot of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, is from M. Sc. He says of him: "Vir prudens et religiosus et ideo monasterium sancti Pantaleonis cum suo, id est sancti Martini, sibi datum est. Ipse optimum missalem librum monachi etiam Franci, sine licentia conscriptum, in commune monachorum in monasterio sancti Pantaleonis igne consumpsit, ne alius sine licentia conscriberet aut tale aliquid fecisset. Cui successit Majobus (? Majolus) Scottus, virgo patiens et sapiens annis 18." The use of the word *virgo* is curious. Simeon of Durham says under this year: 'Eadmundus episcopus obiit cui Edredus per pecuniam in episcopatum successit et decimo mense moritur.'

1043. This is another annal in which J. W. contains considerable matter not in the extant chronicles. He says that Alfric, archbishop of York, assisted at Eadward's coronation, which is not in the chronicle; otherwise the fact is described as in C, D, E and F.

The next clause in J. W. about the plundering of Hardicanute's widow is like that in D, and D only; but J. W. adds the words 'Verumtamen sufficienter ei ministrari necessaria praecepit, et illam ibidem quiete manere jussit.' Simeon of Durham says: 'Defuncto Eadmundo Egelricus suscepit episcopatum Dunelmensem, Sewardus amministrate comitatum Northimbrorum.' J. W. then has a long paragraph epitomised from M. Sc. which I shall take from the latter, about a certain Animcadus, whom he

styles 'Scottus monachus et inclusus,' and says 'obiit iii kal. Februarii in monasterio Fuldensi. Super cuius sepulchrum visa sunt lumina et psalmodia audita. Super quem ergo Marianus Scottus x annis inclusus, super pedes ejus stans cotidie cantavi missas. Willihelmus monachus et presbiter conversus clericus et sapiens, districtior et religiosior omnium monachorum Fuldensium, sicut nos vidimus, Animcadum rogavit ut se benediceret. Eadem vero ipsa nocte, sicut mihi incluso super Animcadum confirmavit, somniavit, Animcadum in suo sepulchro stantem nimio fulgore candentem, et extensa sua manu se ab eo benedici. Cum enim fossa sepulchri mei juxta latus ejus in nocte nondum completa permaneret aperta, totam ipsam noctem mellifluo odore scilicet conduxi. Qui quia cum licentia senioris sui nomine Corcram in insola Kelta caritatem fratribus fecit, paucis vero remanentibus post alios exeuntes potumque petentibus, ipse sine licentia prebuit, et inde etiam tunc sicut primum potum seniori misit. Ideo die crastino non tantum in insola Kelta, sed de tota Hibernia ipsum senior projecit: quod humiliter complevit. Ita Tigernach Borschech mihi culpabili in aliqua levi culpa pronuntiavit.' The concluding phrase is interesting, since it shows that Marianus was a friend as well as a contemporary of Tigernach, the earliest of the Irish chroniclers, who wrote in prose and whose annals are so deservedly valued. J. W. does not follow this verbatim, but paraphrases the account in certain places. The Corcram of M. Sc. he calls Coscram.

1044. The first clause is from M. Sc.

The next one refers to the death of Aelfward, bishop of London, who had been abbot of Evesham. J. W. uses the curious phrase 'et ante episcopatum et in episcopatu abbatis jure Eoveshamnensi coenobio praefuit,' clearly showing that he for a time held the abbey and the see together. He continues: 'Cum pontificatum administrare pro sua infirmitate minus sufficeret Eoveshammi residere voluit; sed fratres loci illius id omnino ferre noluerunt. Quapropter ablatis ex maxima parte libris et ornamentis, quae ipse eidem contulerat loco, et quaedam ut fertur quae alii contulerant, ad monasterium Ramesegae secessit, et omnia quae attulit sancto obtulit Benedicto, ibique resedit; et hoc anno octavo kal. Augusti, feria quarta

defungitur, ibidemque sepelitur.' All these details are absent from MS. D, which simply mentions his having been abbot of Evesham, where he greatly advanced the monastery, and his death at Ramsey. This is entered in the year 1045 in D and is not in any other chronicle; but D, as we have seen, is condensed and J. W. gives other details which are very interesting. J. W. puts the appointment of Stigand as bishop of East Anglia in this year, as in C, E and F, but not in D.

D merely mentions in 1045 the succession of Manni as abbot at Evesham. J. W. calls him 'religiosus Eoveshamensis monachus Wulmarus qui et Manni.'

J. W. also gives several details about the expulsion of Gunilda which is only given in bare epitome in MS. D. He says: 'Eodem anno nobilis matrona Gunilda . . . post Haroldi mortem viduata cum duobus filiis Hemmingo et Thurkillo expellitur de Anglia. Quae Flandriam devecta, in loco qui Bricge dicitur aliquamdiu resedit; et sic Danemarchiam adiit.' D, which calls her Canute's kinswoman, and dates the events in 1045, barely mentions the fact of her expulsion.

MS. B of J. W. also has an additional gloss about archbishop Aelfward. It says: 'Hoc anno Cantuariensis metropoleos Edsius accitum Siwardum abbatem Abben-doniae, quem prudentia plurimum vigere noverat, regis consensu et regni primorum pontificatus decoravit apice ac patriarchatus sui vice ipsum fungi instituit. Nam ipse privatis uti volebat, quia aegritudine laborabat. Abben-doniensi autem ecclesiae Aethelstanus ejusdem loci sacrista abbas constitutus est.'

1045. The first clause is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal in J. W. is like that dated in 1046 in D, but he adds that Heremannus sprang from Lotharingia, says the great fleet was gathered against Magnus, king of Norway, and adds: 'sed bellum a Suano rege Danorum illi illatum, iter impedit.''

1046. The obit of pope Clement in J. W. is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is like 1047 in D. J. W. calls Leofric 'cancellarius Leofricus Britonico.' He uses the name Crediton for the diocese which the chronicle calls that of Devon.

J. W. says that Aldred who was now appointed to the

Hwiccian see (Living had held three sees) had been a monk at Winchester and was afterwards abbot of Tavistock. He also enlarges the next clause by the words: '*Magnus Norreganorum rex, sancti Olavi regis filius, fugato rege Danorum Suano sibi Danemarciam subjugat.*'

1047. The first clause is from M. Sc. The reference to the severe winter is in MS. D, but J. W. adds: '*Nix in occidente tanta cecidit, ut silvas quoque frangeret. Quo etiam anno hiems extitit durissima.*' He calls Heca '*regis capellanus,*' and omits the death-day of bishop Alfwine.

The events here dated in 1047 are put in 1048 in MS. D.

1048. The obit of the pope is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is like D 1049 and is found only in D. J. W. adds some facts. He calls Harold, Harold Harvager, which is, of course, a mistake. It was not Harold Harfagre, as he is generally called, but Haro'd Hardrada, an entirely different person, to whom these statements refer. He says he was the son of Siward, king of Norway, and on the mother's side was brother of St. Olaf and uncle on the father's side (*patruus*) of Magnus.

J. W. adds the following important clause not found in the existing chronicles about the refusal of the English to help Magnus: '*sed licet comes Godwinus voluisset ut saltem 1 naves illi mitterentur, Leofricus comes omnisque populus uno ore contradixerunt.*' The '*wild-fire*' of the chronicle he calls '*ignis aerius vulgo dictus silvaticus,*' and adds that '*villas et segetes multas ustulavit.*'

The obit of Eadmund, bishop of Lindisfarne, and the succession of Edred are given only by J. W. He says the former died at Gloucester, but was taken by his people to Durham to be buried, and of the latter he adds: '*sed illo divina ultione percusso, in ejus locum Aegelricus Burgensis monachus substituitur.*'

In MS. B of J. W. we have the gloss: '*Vir domini Aethelstanus abbas Abbendonae obiit; cui successit quidam de monasterio sancti Eadmundi monachus, in auri argentique fabricio operator mirificus, nomine Sperafo.*' In the chronicle of Melrose is the phrase: '*Bellum fuit apud Wallundunas.*'

1049. The first clause about pope Leo is from M. Sc. The rest of the annal is like C 1049 and D 1050 with certain

variants. Thus J. W. says, in regard to the emperor Henry: 'Suanus etiam rex Danorum, ut imperator illi mandarāt, cum sua classe ibi affluit et ea vice fidelitatem imperatori iuravit.' He afterwards refers to the outrage committed by earl Sweyn, the son of Godwin, upon the abbess of Leominster which is barely mentioned in MS. C of the chronicle, and this in 1046. J. W. adds of the earl: 'eo quod . . . in matrimonium habere non licuerit, Danemarciam adierat, navibus viii rediit; dicens cum simulatione se cum rege fideliter amodo remansurum. Cui Beorn comes, filius avunculi sui Danici comitis Ulfi filii Spraclingi filii Ursi, ac fratris Suani Danorum regis promisit se a rege impetraturum ut suus ei comitatus redderetur.' This is not so stated in the chronicle, nor are these details given.

J. W. says that Osgod Clapa had twenty-nine ships, the chronicle says thirty-nine. After describing the murder of Biorn, as in the chronicle MSS. C and D, J. W. says that Suanus fled to Flanders with two ships and stayed there till Aldred, bishop of Winchester, reconciled him to the king. Where MS. D says the Irish arrived in the Welsh Axe, J. W. says in the mouth of the Severn (ostium Sabrinae) at Wyleseaxan. J. W. adds that the king with his men crossed the Weage (i.e. the Wye), burnt Dymedham and killed all he found there. Bishop Aldred marched hastily ('festinanter') against them with a few of the men of Gloucester and Hereford, but the Welsh whom he had with him were treacherous and joined the Irish. As he says: 'ad regem Griffinum clanculo nuncium miserunt, rogantes ut quam citius posset super Anglos irrueret. Qui mox et cum suis et cum piratis Hiberniensibus advolavit, et diluculo super Anglos irruens, multos ex illis occidit caeteris per fugam elapsis.' These details are not in the chronicle.

Ulf, who was appointed bishop of Dorchester, is styled 'regis capellanus genere Normannus' by J. W. He calls Siward 'Eadsii Dorobernensis archiepiscopi corepiscopus.' The visit of the pope to Rheims is also given in epitome in MS. D. J. W. says he was invited thither by abbot Herimar, that he was accompanied by the prefect and chief men of the city of 'Romula' (Romuleae), while he alone gives the name of one of the two abbots sent by

king Eadward to attend the synod, viz. Alfwin, abbot of Ramsey.

It is curious that J. W. does not mention the presence of the emperor, which is noted by the chronicler. With these exceptions this long annal follows D, which, however, puts the events in 1050. MS. B of J. W. has the following gloss on bishop Siward: '*Sed et archiepiscopi vices moderans, Siwardus, aegritudine correptus, Abbendoniam a Cantia aeger defertur, et duobus illic mensibus lecto detentus, ab hac vita educitur, atque ibidem sepelitur.*'

1050. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc. who says: '*Rex Scottiae Macbethad Romae argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.*' The rest is like MS. D under 1051. The chronicle calls Robert, bishop of London, a Frenchman. J. W. calls him a Northman ('*genere Normannorum*'). He also tells us that Herman was bishop of Wilton and Aldred bishop of Worcester. In MS. B of J. W. we have the additional clause: '*Venerat per hos dies ad regem quidam de Norwagia gente episcopus vocabulo Rodulfus, regi propinquus. In Abbendonensibus abbatis jure praeficitur.*'

1051. This annal is also like D, but J. W. has some variants. He says Alfric (Hoved and the Melrose chronicler add '*qui et Palla*'), the archbishop, died at Southwell, and was buried at Medeshamstede (Peterborough) and succeeded by Kinsige, a king's chaplain. He gives the name of Eadward's sister who married Eustace, count of Boulogne, namely Goda, calling her husband '*Eustathius senior*,' and says that he arrived at Dover with a few ships, adding that his men killed many men and women and fastened children to their horses' feet. In the chronicle of Melrose we have the passage: '*Orta seditione inter regem et comitem Godwinum, pro eo quod tradere noluit morti sororium suum comitem Bononensium, cujus milites stolide hospitia quaerentes,*' etc. He describes Godwin's earldom as comprising Kent, Sussex and Wessex, his eldest son ('*filius ejus progenitus*') Suanus as ruling Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somerset and Berkshire, and Harold's earldom as comprising Essex, East Anglia and the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge. In order to collect their forces in support of the king against the rebellious earls, J. W. says the northern earls

Leofric and Siward, sent out swift messengers on horse-back ('veredarii'). He tells us that earl Radulphus was the son of Goda, the sister of king Eadward, and that the forces of Godwin and his sons fortified themselves ('castra metati sunt') in Gloucestershire and that they demanded that count Eustace and his men, and especially the Bononienses or men of Boulogne and the Normans, should be expelled under threats of war ('sub denunciatione belli'); but that the king, on the arrival of the northern earls, refused to comply with the demand. J. W. calls Judith the daughter of Baldwin of Flanders, while the chronicle calls her his 'mage' or kinswoman. In regard to king Eadward's divorce from Eadgitha J. W. explains it as being 'propter iram quam adversus patrem suum Godwinum habuerat,' adding 'et cum una pedissequa ad Hwereweallam eam sine honore misit.' He says that Eadward presented earl William and his companions with many gifts and that he gave William, who had been his chaplain, the bishopric of London. It must be noted that in this annal MS. D is occasionally more detailed, while in one place its narrative does not run in the same order, but in a less logical way, than in J. W. The last clause is from M. Sc. where, however, Liupoldus is written Linuoldus. In MS. B of J. W. we have in addition the clause 'Rodulfus episcopus et abbas Abbendonensis ecclesiae obiit, cui successit Ordricus ejusdem monachus.'

1052. The first clause is from the continuation of M. Sc. In that work it reads: 'Ego Marianus seculum reliqui.'

The rest of the annal closely follows D. J. W. adds that queen Alfgiva-Emma died and was buried at Winchester. D adds that the Welsh in their invasion advanced as far as Leominster. He also tells us that on his return from exile earl Godwin was joined by his son Leofwine as well as by Harold. He adds that with his fleet Godwin 'adversus cursum Tamensis fluminis devectus, die Exaltationis sancte Crucis.' In regard to the tactics of the two sides he says of Godwin, 'Venit et pedestris exercitus, ac se per oram fluminis ordinatim disponens, spissam terribilemque fecit testudinem. Dein classis se versus aquilonalem ripam vertit quasi regis classem circumdare vellet.' The notice of Sweyn's pilgrimage

to Jerusalem is not in D, but comes from C. J. W. adds some phrases thus: 'Ille enim ductus penitentia, eo quod, ut praelibavimus, consobrinum Biornum occiderat, de Flandria nudis pedibus Hierusalem jam adierat, suum indeque rediens, invaliditudine ex nimio frigore contracta, mortuus est in Licia.' In the chronicle he is said to have died at Constantinople. J. W. mentions the names, not mentioned in the chronicles, of several chiefs who had sided against Godwin and were allowed to remain in England when the foreigners were expelled: 'Paucos tamen scilicet Rotbertum diaconum et generum ejus Ricardum filium Scrob, Alfredum regis stratorem, Anfridum cognomento Ceocesfot et quosdam alios, quos plus caeteris rex dilexerat, eique et omni populo fideles exstiterant, in Anglia remanere permiserunt.' He calls William bishop of London and Ulf of Lincoln (really of Dorchester). Then comes a passage not in the chronicle: 'Sed Willelmus propter suam bonitatem parvo post tempore revocatus in suum episcopatum recipitur. Osbernus vero cognomento Pentecost, et socius ejus Hugo sua reddiderunt castella; et comitis Leofrici licentia per suum comitatum Scotiam adeuntes, a rege Scotorum Macbeotha suscepti sunt. Eodem anno in nocte festivitatis sancti Thomae apostoli, tantus tamque vehemens exitit ventus ut multas ecclesias domosque dirueret, et innumerabiles arbores frangeret, vel radicitus erueret.' Here again D has some statements not in J. W. as the latter has some not in the chronicle. A notice of this hurricane is contained in MSS. D and E in 1053.

1053. This annal is in the main like D. J. W. adds that 'in consequence of the ravages of Res (Rhys), whom he calls the brother of Griffin, which are otherwise referred to only in MS. D. he was executed 'in loco qui Bulendum dicitur,' and that he was killed by order of king Eadward.

The details of Godwin's death in J. W. are from MS. C. They are not given in D. J. W. alone says that his sons Harold, Tostig and Gurth carried him into the king's chamber where they hoped he would recover. He concludes: 'Sed ille expers virium, quinta post haec feria miserabili cruciatu vita decessit.' Simeon of Durham gives his death-day as xvii kal. Maii. He calls earl Algar, who succeeded Harold when Harold succeeded Godwin

on the latter's death, the son of earl Leofric. J. W. says that after the death of Godwin, abbot of Winchcombe, the abbacy was for a while in the hands of Aldred, bishop of Lichfield (as MS. D says) until Godric, the son of the royal chaplain Godman, was appointed. All the rest of the annal except the last sentence is in D. This is from M. Sc. It is about a certain Aedd whom Marianus calls '*clericus barbosus in Hibernia vir valde famosissimus et mirae religionis fuit. Ipse enim feminas et puerulos more clericorum coronando tondebat, et coronas non velataque capita feminas conversas habere debere predicabat, earumque scolam et puellarum, puerorum et laicorum multam habebat. Ob id de Hibernia projectus est.*'

1054. The obit of pope Leo is from M. Sc. what follows is in MSS. C and D. J. W. adds that Malcolm, son of the king of Cumbria, was put on the throne by Siward, as the king had ordered. He also adds that on St. Kenelm's day Aldred, bishop of Worcester, appointed Godric as abbot of Winchcombe. J. W. like D, describes the visit of bishop Aldred to Cologne on a mission to the emperor in the king's service, but gives more details. Thus he says: '*Aldredus Wigorniensis episcopus . . . magnis cum xeniis regis fungitur legatione ad imperatorem . . . et regis ex parte imperatori suggessit, ut legatis Hungariam missis, inde fratruelem suum Eadwardum, regis videlicet Eadmundi ferrei-lateris filium, reduceret, Angliamque venire faceret.*' MS. D adds three statements not in J. W. namely, the hallowing of the monastery at Evesham on the 7th of the ides of October, the death of Osgod Clapa and the great murrain.

1055. The obit of pope Victor is from M. Sc. The next clause is probably from C, as D adds that the church at Galmanho was dedicated to God and St. Olaf. MS. C says to God and all his saints. J. W. calls Tostig '*Haroldi ducis germano.*' J. W. then closely follows MS. C. He, however, calls Ralph '*Radulphus timidus dux, Eadwardi sororis filius.*'

J. W. says that the battle with earl Ralph was fought two miles from Hereford, and that to fight on horseback was contrary to the custom of the English. This is not in the chronicle. When the fight began Ralph and his Frenchmen and Normans were the first to flee. Earl

Algar and Griffin entered the city and *inter alia* slew seven canons 'qui valvas principalis basilicae defenderunt'; among other treasures they burnt relics of St. Aethelberht the king and other saints. These two details are not in either MS. C or D of the chronicle. J. W. alone mentions that earl Harold followed up Algar and king Griffin and entered Wales and advanced beyond the castle of Straddele. Mr. Hamilton Thompson kindly adds the following remarks to this annal: 'J. W. does not call Straddele a castle. His phrase is: "ultra Straddele castrametatus est." I think that Straddele probably = Ystrad Elwy, which would mean the Vale of Clwyd. It was wrongly identified with Snowdon by Roger of Wendover.' The enemy fled to South Wales. Harold now disbanded a large part of his army and returned and fortified Hereford with a wide and high vallum. This is mentioned in MS. C. as is the withdrawal of Algar's fleet to Chester. C does not, however, mention the restoration of Algar to his earldom which is stated by J. W. and in MS. D. J. W. also tells us that Tremerin, the Welsh bishop, who died at this time, had been blind for thirteen years. He also says that bishop Heriman of 'Wilton' being displeased because the king refused to transfer his see to the abbey of Malmesbury from Ramsbury, resigned it and became a monk at Saint-Bertin, where he remained three years. MS. D merely mentions bishop Tremerin's death, adding that he had been bishop Aethelstan's deputy after the latter was infirm.

1056. Here again J. W. largely agrees with C and D but also gives us additional matter. He says that bishop Aethelstan of Hereford died at the episcopal vill of 'Bosanbirig' (i.e. Bosbury) and adds that his body 'in ecclesia quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat est tumulatum.' The chronicle says merely that he was buried at Hereford. Leovëgar (his successor) is styled 'ducis Haroldi capellanus' by J. W. He ruled only twelve weeks and four days. It is curious that J. W. omits the picturesque details about him and his end given in both MSS. C and D of the chronicle. He probably objected to a fighting bishop. He says of him merely that he was killed by king Griffin in a place called Clastbirig (written Chastbyrig in MSS. A and B of J. W.), a fact not mentioned in the chronicles.

Hereford was placed under Aldred, bishop of Worcester. The rest of the annal is like that in the two manuscripts of the chronicle above mentioned.

J. W. next turns to M. Sc. and mentions the obit of bishop Herman at Cologne 'in quadragesima' and the succession of Anno, and also has an entry about Marianus himself thus given in the latter's chronicle: 'ego Marianus peregrinus factus pro regno coelesti, patriam mutuavi et in Colonia v feria, kal. Augusti, monachus effectus.' J. W. styles the earl Odda of the chronicles E and F 'comes Agelwin id est Odda' and describes him as 'ecclesiarum amator, pauperum recreator, viduarum et pupillorum defensor, oppressorum subventor, virginittis custos.' He tells us that it was bishop Aldred who made him a monk ('monachizatus') before he died and that he died at Deerhurst (which is not stated in the extant chronicles) and was buried at Pershore. J. W. says that when Agelric, bishop of Durham, retired from the see he went to his monastery and there died twelve years later—an interesting entry showing that this part of J. W. was not composed *de anno in annum*.

The last clause, with the obit of the emperor Henry the third and the succession of his son Henry, is from M. Sc. It is curious that both MSS. C and D call him Cotha.

1057. The obit of pope Victor is from M. Sc. The statement used by J. W. about the death of prince Eadward is notable. He says: 'Clito Eadwardus, regis Eadmundi ferrei-lateris filius, ut ei mandarant patruus rex Eadwardus, de Hungaria, quo multo ante, ut praediximus, in exilium missus fuit, Angliam venit. Decreverat enim rex illum post se regni haeredem constituere.' This is not in MS. D of the chronicle, which otherwise gives a considerably more detailed account of what happened.

J. W. says that earl Leofric, whom he styles 'excellētis vir memoriae, laudabilis comes,' died on the second of the kalends of September. MS. D says the second of the kalends of October. He also adds that he died in his own vill at Bromileage at a good old age ('in bona senectute'). Of the monastery of St. Mary at Coventry, where both MS. D and J. W. say he was buried, J. W. says that it was built from the foundations by Leofric himself and his wife

Godiva, and endowed with sufficient lands and various ornaments and that in regard to the quantity of gold, silver and precious stones it possessed, no monastery was so nobly endowed as this.

Leofric also founded the monasteries of Leominster (Leonense) and Wenlock, that dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Werburgh at Chester, and the church which bishop Eadnoth consecrated at St. Mary Stowe, which J. W. calls '*locus famosus*,' enriching them with precious gifts. He also gave lands to the monastery at Worcester, and lands, buildings and ornaments to that at Evesham. The whole kingdom also profited from his wisdom. He calls Eadnoth bishop of Lincoln. It ought to be Dorchester.

J. W. tells us that Aegelric, consecrated bishop of the South Saxons in the place of Heca, had been a monk at Canterbury, MS. D says at Christchurch.

M. Sc. has an entry of his own about Ireland, not in J. W. He says: '*Macfinlaeg occiditur in Augusto. Lulag successit et occiditur in Martio; cui Moelcol successit. Moelcoluim filius Donchaed regit Scottiam. Donchad regnavit annis v, hoc est a missa sancti Andreae ad eandem et insuper ad nativitatem sanctae Mariae. Inde Macfinlaeg regnavit annis xvii ad eandem missam sanctae Mariae. Lulach a nativitate sanctae Mariae ad missam sancti Patricii in mense Martio regnavit. Inde Moelcoluim regnavit annis xx usque ad missam sancti Patricii.*'

1058. The earlier part of this annal is from M. Sc., who says: '*Badaebrunna civitas cum duobus monasteriis, id est episcopatus et monachorum, feria vi ante palmas igne consumitur. In monasterio autem monachorum erat Paternus nomine monachus Scottus, multisque annis inclusus, qui etiam combustionem prenunciabat, ambiens martirium pro nullo foris exivit, sed in sua clausola combustus per ignem pertransivit in refrigerium. De cujus sepulchro quaedam bona narrantur. Ipse vero statim diebus, feria ii post octavas paschae, exiens de Colonia causa claudendi cum abbate Fuldense ad Fuldem super mattam in clausola ipsius, ubi supra eandem mattam combustus et passus est, ego oravi.*'

The next clause about the second exile of Alfgar is

also in MS. D. In regard to his return J. W. is clearer and more detailed than D. He says: '*regis Walanorum Griffini juvamine, et Norreganicae classis adminiculo, quae ad illum venerat ex improvise cito per vim suum comitatum recuperavit.*' The obit of pope Stephen and the succession of Benedict who sent the pall to Stigand are only given in J. W. and MS. D of the chronicle. The ordination of Agelric as bishop of the South Saxons and of abbot Siward as bishop of Rochester are given in MSS. C and D.

The account of the rebuilding of St. Peter's at Gloucester by Aldred, bishop of Worcester, is also in D; but the consecration of Wulfstan (a monk of Worcester) as its abbot is not in any of the extant chronicles. The deprival of bishop Aldred of Worcester of the see of Wilton, with the administration of which he had been entrusted, and his voyage in great state to Jerusalem are also mentioned by J. W. and in MS. D. Meanwhile Heriman, who had resigned the Wilton bishopric, as we have seen, from pique and had gone abroad, was restored to his see.

M.Sc. mentions in this year the obit of an abbot Egberht of Fulda, not noticed by J. W.

1059. The first clause is also in the chronicle, MS. D. The rest is from M.Sc. In the latter it reads '*Ego Marianus indignus cum Sigifrido abbate Fuldensi juxta corpus sancti Kiliani martiris Wirzeburc consecratus ad presbiteratum sabbato medie quadragesimae, iiii idus Martii, et feria vi post ascensionem Domini, pridie iduum Maji inclusus in Fulda per annos x.*'

1060. The origin of the first clause about the death of Henry, king of the Franks, and the succession of his son Philip in J. W. is unknown to me. The mere obit is mentioned in MS. D.

The next clause is like D, which alone mentions the burial of archbishop Kinsige at Burh or Peterborough. J. W. says that he died at York and dates his successor's appointment at Christmas. He alone styles bishop Walter '*Lotharingus*' and says he was appointed '*propter suam industriam*,' adding that he had been chaplain of queen Eadgitha. MS. D mentions the obit of bishop Duduc of Somerset and the succession of Gisa, which are not in J. W. The rest of this annal in J. W. is from M.Sc.

1061. The first clause is a short epitome of the considerably longer notice in MS. D. The rest is from M.Sc. who says: 'Majobus abbas Scottorum Coloniae obiit. Foillanus post eum successit.' In MS. A of J. W. is the additional clause: 'Ubi etiam Gisa Wellensis et Walterus Herefordensis ab ipso papa episcopi ordinati sunt. Usque ad Johannem qui et successor istius Gysi, omnes episcopi Wyllensis ecclesiae sedes suas Wellis habuerunt in ecclesia sancti Andreae.'

1062. The greater part of this long annal in J. W. is devoted to an account of the career of Wulfstan, the famous bishop of Worcester. It was, as I think, almost certainly taken from the life of the saint written by Coleman, a monk of Worcester who had been Wulfstan's chaplain for fifteen years and wrote his life in Anglo-Saxon. This life is no longer extant, but is referred to by Malmesbury as his authority in the prologue to his life of the saint.

1063. This annal is like MS. D of the chronicle. J. W. styles Harold 'strenuus dux West-Saxonum.' He adds that Harold's campaign was undertaken by order of king Eadward and that he set out with only a moderate force of cavalry, 'equitatu non multo secum assumpto.' He adds that he advanced 'multa cum festinatione' with the intention of killing Griffith 'propter frequentes depopulationes quas in Anglorum finibus agebat, ac verecundias quas domino suo regi Eadwardo saepe faciebat . . . At ille, ejus adventu precognito, fugam cum suis iniit, navem ascendit et vix evasit.' J. W. calls Tostig's army 'equestris exercitus.' He does not mention that Griffith was killed by his own people, as is said in MS. D, but that they expatriated him, 'exlegante abjecerunt.' No part of the annal is in the extant chronicles. D is vacant this year and E only has a line about the conquest of Maine by earl ('comes') William of Normandy.

1064. The greater portion of this annal in J. W. is from M.Sc. Part of it is entered by the latter in the year 1064 and part in 1065. J. W. puts Griffith's death at the hands of the Welsh, as he does the submission of his brothers and of the Welsh, in this year and not in 1063 as does MS. D; otherwise the two are virtually alike. M.Sc. says that Griffith died in the autumn of 1065.

1065. The first clause in J. W. about the translation of

St. Oswin's remains is not in the chronicle. It doubtless comes from the anonymous life of the saint in MS. Cott. Jul. A x, fol. 2, from which it has been printed by the Surtees Society, vol. viii. The next one about Harold's campaign in Wales is like the entry in MS. D. J. W. adds that the palace was ordered to be built in July and stored with many things for eating and drinking. He inserts a sentence telling us that Griffin, king of South Wales, had been killed a few years before by Griffin, king of North Wales. He then inserts a long passage not found elsewhere. He says: 'Dein post festivitatem sancti Michaelis archangeli, quinto nonas Octobris, feria secunda, Northimbrenses ministri Gamelbearn, Dunstanus filius Athelnethes,¹ Glonieorn filius Heardulfi cum cc militibus Eboracum venerunt, et pro execranda nece nobilium Northimbrensium ministrorum Gospatrici, quam regina Eadgitha germani sui Tostii causa in curia regis, quarta nocte dominicae nativitatis, per insidias occidi iussit et Gamelis filii Orm ac Ulfi filii Dolfini quos anno praecedenti Eboraci in camera sua sub pacis foedere per insidias comes Tostius occidere praecepit, necnon pro immensitate tributii quod de tota Northimbria injuste acceperat, eodem die primitus illius Danicos huscarlas Amundum et Reavensuartum de fuga retractos extra civitatis muros, ac die sequenti plusquam cc viros ex curialibus illius in boreali parte Humbrae fluminis peremerunt. Aerarium quoque ipsius frugerunt ac omnibus quae illius fuerant ablatis, recesserunt.' The greater part of the annal has many more details than in any of the extant chronicles and clearly comes from some other source which was familiar with Welsh and Northumbrian affairs. After the description of the expulsion of Tostig we read in J. W.: 'Post haec rex Eadwardus paulatim aegrotare coepit.'

1066. J. W. calls the king 'Anglorum decus, pacificus rex Eadwardus Aethelredi filius' and gives details of the date of his death not given elsewhere, as follows: 'postquam xxiii annis, mensibus vi et xxvii diebus, potestate regia praefuerat Anglo-Saxonibus, indictione iv,

¹ In MS. B of J. W. the name is spelt Aethelvetes, while Simeon of Durham gives the form Aegelnethes.

Epiphaniae Domini vigilia, feria quinta, in mortem obiit Lundenia et in crastino sepultus regio more ab omnibus qui tunc affuere non sine lachrymis plangebatur amarissime.'

The succession of Harold, whom J.W. styles 'subregulus', told in a dry sentence or two in the chronicle, is the occasion of a rhetorical outburst by J. W. He says of him: 'Rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat, a totius Angliae primatibus ad regale culmen electus, die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo in regem est honorifice consecratus. Qui mox et regni gubernacula suscepit, leges iniquas destruere, aequas coepit condere. ecclesiarum ac monasteriorum patronus fieri, episcopos, abbates, monachos, clericos colere simul ac venerari; pium, humilem, affabilemque se bonis omnibus exhibere, malefactores exosos habere. Nam ducibus, satrapis, vicecomitibus et suis in commune praecepit ministris, fures, raptores, regni disturbatores comprehendere; et pro patriae defensione ipsemet terra marique desudare.' None of this is found elsewhere.

In MS. B of J. W. we have the following addition: 'Abbas Abbendoniae Ordricus postquam domum sibi commissam honorifice gubernasset et a memoria principum apostolorum ad sua remeasset, diutina coctus aegritudine diem sortitur ultimum: Ealdredus vero in eodem monasterio praepositurae officium exhibens, abbatiae dominatum post illum adipiscitur.' The death of king Eadward, which is properly entered in this year in J. W. is put in the chronicles C and D in 1065. This is also the case with the accession of Harold, which M. Sc. puts in 1067.

The comet is also mentioned in MSS. C and D. J. W. adds that it was seen all over the world. The coming of Tostig and his visit to the Isle of Wight and Sandwich J.W. got from MS. C, which alone mentions the latter town. C, like J. W. also mentions Tostig's plundering of Lindsey and his going to Scotland, but J. W. alone names king Malcolm. He alone also calls the Norwegian king the brother of St. Olaf, and alone says that he brought more than fifty big ships with him. He also says that the fight on the Ouse took place at Riccall, 'in loco qui Richale dicitur.' The place still has remains of the embankments

within which the Danish ships were docked. He alone gives the number of hostages given by the men of York, namely 150 men, and alone mentions the name of the earl of Orkney who was present at the battle of Stamford bridge, namely Paul.

It is plain that in this annal J. W. had both MSS. C, and D, which are much alike, before him. *Inter alia* D, like J. W. calls the son of Harold of Norway Olaf, while C calls him Hetmund. MS. D alone of the chronicles styles Harold Harfagera as does J. W., who follows D in mentioning Pevensey as the place of landing of William. He adds that Harold moved his troops towards London 'cum festinatione.' J. W. says that Harold fortified himself at a place nine miles from Hastings. He dates the fight at Hastings on Saturday, the 11th of the kalends of November (i.e. the 22nd of October), while MS. D and Roger of Howden put it on St. Calixtus' day (i.e. the 14th of October). None of the chronicles give any details of the battle. J. W.'s description is probably only a piece of rhetoric, for he follows MS. D closely in his account of the result of the battle. His words are; 'Sed quia arcto in loco constituti fuerant Angli de acie se multi subtraxere et cum eo perpauci constantes corde permansere: ab hora tamen diei tertia usque noctis crepusculum suis adversariis restitit fortissime, et se ipsum pugnando tam fortiter defendit et tam strenue, ut vix ab hostili interimi posset agmine. At postquam ex his et illis quamplurimi corruere, heu, ipsemet cecidit crepusculi tempore.' J. W. alone mentions that Harold reigned nine months and a few days, and that Eadwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn their forces, took their sister Alghitha to Chester. The story of the attempt to put the aetheling Eadgar on the throne is told by J. W. much as MS. D tells it. J. W. alone enumerates the counties harried by William after the fight, namely, Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, Middlesex and Hertfordshire. Otherwise he agrees with D. To the list given in D of the great men who submitted to William, J. W. adds Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Walter, bishop of Hereford. Like D he tells us that William was crowned by Aldred, archbishop of York; but he alone tells us why. He says: 'quia Stigandus primas totius Angliae ab apostolico papa calumniatus est pallium non suscepisse

canonice, ipsa die, quae illo anno feria secunda evenit, ab Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo in Westmonasterio consecratus est honorifice, prius, ut idem archipraesul ab eo exigebat, ante altare sancti Petri apostoli.' He says this was on Christmas day. The chronicle calls it mid-winter day. It is noteworthy that with this year MS. C of the chronicle, which J. W. had followed so closely in many places, comes to an end and henceforward the only extant copy of the chronicle with which he has common material is MS. D.

1067. The first sentence in J. W. is from MS. D. He, however, adds another name to the list of hostages not mentioned in the chronicle, i.e. the man whom he styles 'nobilis satrapa Agelnoth Cantwariensis.' This is entered in D at the end of the annal of 1066. J. W. calls the Eadric of MS. D 'quidam praepotens minister Edricus cognomento Silvaticus filius Aelfrici fratris Edrici Streonae,' and adds that his lands 'quia se dedere regi dedignabatur' were ravaged by the castellan of Hereford and by Richard, son of Scrob, and he lost many men. This is not in D. He then goes on to say that Blethgent and Rithualam, kings of the Welsh, allied themselves with Edric and invaded Herefordshire on the day of the Assumption as far as the bridge over the river Lucge (i.e. Lugg), and carried off much booty.

These details are all wanting in D. In the notice of the campaign at Exeter, J. W. adds that Gytha, Harold's mother, was the sister of Suine (i.e. Swegen), king of Denmark.

The obit of Siward, bishop of Rochester, is only in J. W. who curiously does not mention the great fire at Christchurch, Canterbury, in this year. A number of other entries in D are also omitted by J. W. All of this points to the two works being here independent, but largely copying from a common original.

1068. The arrival of Matilda and her comrades is put in this year in J. W. and in 1067 in D. The same with the sending of Agatha, the mother, and the two sisters of the aetheling, Eadgar to Scotland. D does not mention Gospatrick among those who accompanied her, but makes him go thither the following year.

The doings of William at Nottingham, York and

Lincoln are told almost in the same words in both J. W. and D. J. W. says that Harold's three sons came from Ireland. D only says one. The former alone gives their names, viz. Godwin, Eadmund and Magnus. J. W. does not mention their landing and doings at Bristol, otherwise the narrative is virtually the same in both. It is curious that J. W. does not translate the word 'staller,' which he gives as 'stallarius.' He says that the invaders took back the booty they had captured to Ireland.

1069. The first clause in J. W. is from M. Sc.

In the invasion from Ireland J. W. says that *two* sons of Harold took part. He calls Brian 'Breona Brytonico comite.' He was the son of Hugh, count of Brittany.¹ The notice is almost the same both in J. W. and D. The latter puts the event, however, in 1068. J. W. dates the invasion on the nativity of St. John the Baptist, i.e. 24th June. The next clause in J. W. about Marianus becoming an 'inclusus' is from M.Sc. In the account of the new Danish invasion J. W. alone gives the date, i.e. 'ante natiuitatem sanctae Mariae' (8th September). He also alone gives the names of Sweyn's sons, viz. Harold and Canute. D says there were three, and calls Esbern, i.e. Asbiorn, their uncle on the father's side ('patruus'). He does not mention Gospatrick among those who joined the invaders as D does. He says they went with their fleet, 'cum classe quam congregauerant.' D says with all the country people riding and walking. J. W. explains the reasons for the Normans setting fire to the town and the monastery of St. Peter at York. He says: 'timentes ne domus, quae prope castella erant, adjuncta Danis ad implendas fossas castellorum essent, igne eas succendere coeperunt, qui nimis excrescens totam civitatem invasit,' etc. Before the town was all burnt the Danish fleet arrived 'feria ii'; they captured the castle and killed 3,000 Normans, and he adds that they carried off many prisoners, including William Malet with his wife and two children. The laying waste of Northumbria is told in a similar way in both works, but what follows is described in detail by J. W. alone. The chronicle merely says the fleet (i.e. the Danish fleet) lay all the winter in the Humber, where

¹ See pedigree, Masères schema, *M.H.B.* 219, note.

the king could not come at them. J. W. tells us what really happened. He says: 'Interea nuntiis ad Danicum comitem Esbernum missis, spopondit se clanculo daturum illi non modicae summam pecuniae, et permissurum licenter exercitui suo victum sibi circa ripas maris rapere, ea tamen interposita conditione, ut sine pugna discederet peracta hieme. Ille autem auri argentique nimis avidus, non sine magno dedecore sui petitis concessit.' None of this is in the chronicle.

J. W. then adds a rhetorical phrase about the extent of the devastation of the Normans in various parts of England and notably in Northumbria during this and the preceding year, and of the famine which ensued.

In this year both J. W. and D put the death of Aldred, archbishop of York. The former seems to attribute it to the effects of the invasion just named. He says: 'De quorum adventu Eboracensis archiepiscopus Aldredus valde tristis effectus, in magnam incidit infirmitatem . . . vitam finivit et in ecclesia sancti Petri est sepultus.'

1070. With this annal we clearly reach a new departure in the text of J. W. who here begins the last section of the work in which the equations with the text of the chronicle become much less important and the original contribution of the compiler of the work much more prominent. MS. D is entirely vacant in this annal. The greater part of it in J. W. deals with ecclesiastical and not civil affairs. The first clause refers to the seizure of the property of the monasteries by the king. The second deals with the council at Winchester at which archbishop Stigand and his brother Agelmar, bishop of East Anglia, were deposed as well as several other bishops and abbots. The third with the claims of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, for the restoration of the property of the church of Worcester, which had been appropriated by Aldred, archbishop of York, on his removal from Worcester to the latter place, and its subsequent seizure by the king. The fourth with the appointment of Thomas, canon of Bayeux, to the see of York and of the king's chaplain Walkelin to that of Winchester. At the same synod Agelric was uncanonically deposed from the see of the South Saxons and imprisoned, Arfast was made bishop of East Anglia, and another Stigand was appointed to the see of Sussex,

while several abbeys were given to Norman monks. J. W. tells us that, as one archbishop had been deposed and the other was dead, Walkelin was consecrated by Armenfrid bishop of Sion in the Valais, one of the pope's legates at the synod.

J. W. now tells us of the return of Asbiorn to Denmark, whence he was expatriated by his brother Sweyn for having received money from the English king. Meanwhile Eric the forester made peace with William. The rest of the annal is occupied mainly with an account of Lanfranc and his doings and of the success of bishop Wulfstan in his struggle for the recovery of the lands of which his see had been deprived. Then follows a notice of the imprisonment of Aegelwin, bishop of Durham, and the very long annal ends with the obit of Siward, bishop of Rochester, his succession by Arnostus, a monk of Bec, and again by Gündulf. No part of this annal occurs elsewhere.

1071. The visit of Lanfranc and archbishop Thomas to Rome to receive their palls is only in J. W. and so is the flight of Eadwin and Morcar. The rest of the annal refers to the same events as the entry for 1072 in D. J. W. alone, however, mentions Eadwin's flight to Scotland and his murder on the way. J. W. alone mentions Siward called Barn among the rebels and their withdrawal to Ely. The rest except the last sentence closely follows D and E. E puts it in 1071, but D in 1072. This clause reads: 'Comitem vero [i.e. Morcar] caeterosque per Angliam divisos partem custodie mancipavit, partem manibus truncatis vel oculis erutis abire permisit.' In the Lambeth MS. of J. W. which was once at Abingdon, we have an additional clause about the abbot of that monastery: 'Aldredus etiam abbas Abbendoniae apud castellum Wallingafordense in captivo ponitur, sed aliquanto post tempore inde eductus in manus Wintoniensis episcopi Walchelini servandus committitur, apud quem mansit quoad vixit: cui in abbatem successit Abendoniae Athelmus de monasterio Gemeticae monachus.'

1072. In this annal J. W. alone gives the date of William's setting out for Scotland, i.e. 'post assumptionem S. Mariae' (15th August), and adds that he had Edric styled Silvaticus with him. He alone also says that the conference with Malcolm took place at Abernethy: 'in

loco qui dicitur Abernithici.' D merely says he went beyond the Forth. J. W. also adds that a Lotharingian named Walcer succeeded Aegelwin at Durham. The rest of the annal in J. W. is like D, but the latter has one or two additional statements. It also dates the annal in 1073. In E, which is virtually identical with D, the date of this annal is given as 1072.

1073. The first clause in this annal is like D 1074 and E 1073. The second clause is not found in the chronicles. It reads: 'Clito Eadgarus de Scotia per Angliam venit in Normanniam, et cum rege se repacificavit.'

1074. This is equivalent to 1075 in E and 1076 in D. In the latter king William gives William Fitz Osbern's daughter to earl Ralph. J. W. says that it was Roger, earl of Hereford, who gave her and contrary to William's order, which is probably right. The latter says the wedding feast was held at Yxninga, i.e. Exning, in Suffolk. The succeeding narrative is considerably different in details in J. W. and the chronicles. Thus J. W. says that the earls enticed Waltheof into the conspiracy, and adds 'Landfrancum Dorubernensem archiepiscopum adiit, poenitentiamque ab eo pro facto licet non sponte sacramento accepit, ejusque consilio regem Willelmum in Normannia degentem petiit, eique rem ex ordine gestam pandens, illinc misericordiae ultro se dedit.' Meanwhile the two earls, Roger and Ralph, went to their respective earldoms. Roger went to Hereford and was opposed by two considerable armies commanded by Wulfstan, the bishop of Worcester, and abbot Aegelwin of Evesham (with whom was Urson, the sheriff of Worcestershire, and Walter de Lacy), which prevented him from crossing the Severn. Ralph, who had entrenched himself near Cambridge, was opposed according to J. W. by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Gosfrid, bishop of Coutances. Finding himself hard pressed he left his castle in charge of his wife and fled to Brittany. The rest of the annal except the last sentence is very like D and E. This sentence runs 'Comites vero Waltheofum et Rogerum judiciali sententia damnatos artiori custodiae mancipavit.'

1075. The short statements in the chronicle about the beheading of Waltheof and the burial of his body at Croyland are enlarged into a long laudatory and rhetorical notice of the prince by J. W. The only notable phrase in

it is where he says of him : 'extra civitatem Wintoniam ductus, indigne et crudeliter securi decapitatur.' The rest of the annal about the siege of earl Ralph's castle at Dol and the raising of the siege by the French king are like the entries in MSS. D and E.

D puts the events of this year in 1077 and E in 1076. It is curious that J. W. has nothing to say about the death of Swegen, king of Denmark, and the succession of his son Harald which are both in D and E.

1076. The mutilated annal in MS. D which is dated 1078 has nothing in common with J. W. nor yet with MS. E except that both in D and E we have the entry of the obit of bishop Heriman. E puts it in 1077.

1077. This annal is only in J. W. It refers to the ravaging of Normandy by Robert. E is quite different.

1078. This is blank both in J. W. and E.

1079. The first sentence in J. W. is like E, but is dated only in the former account where it is put 'after the assumption.' The campaign of William against Robert at Gerbothret (Gerberoi) is told somewhat at greater length in J. W. than in E. He adds that Gerbothret (a castle in Picardy five leagues from Beauvais) had been given to Robert by the French king. It seems to be the same fight as that in D in 1079.

It is curious that this annal in J. W. is largely identical with that in MS. D in 1079,¹ since the previous annals are quite different. J. W. does not mention that Robert wounded his father in the hand nor does he tell us about his horse having been shot under him, or that Toka, son of Wigod, who brought him another horse, was shot by a crossbow, or the return of Robert to Flanders. MS. E also puts this fight in which William was wounded in 1079 and gives some other details.

With the last quotation from D that manuscript of the chronicle comes to an end in the middle of a broken sentence, leaving only one survivor among the chronicles, namely MS. E.

1080. In this year J. W. has a very long annal about the murder of bishop Walcher of Durham with many curious details. E has only four lines here. In these the state-

¹ This is entered in Thorpe's edition in 1079.

ments are quite different, and the two have clearly no connexion.

1081. In this annal J. W. and E are quite different.

1082. In this short annal E does not mention that the king put bishop Odo in custody, nor does he mention the garrison referred to in E.

1083. This annal, which describes the discord at Glastonbury and the murder of the monks there, tells substantially the same story as in E; but J. W. has several details not in the chronicle showing that they had a common source which was more closely followed by the former. Thus he attributes the mischief to William's want of tact 'nulla prudentia instructum,' in appointing Thurstan as abbot of Glastonbury. The chronicle attributes it to the tactlessness of the abbot, who, he says, was a monk of Caen. J. W. quotes one proof of it, saying: 'inter caetera stultitiae suae opera Gregorianum cantum aspernatus, monachos coepit compellere ut illo relicto cujusdam Willelmi Fescamnensis [i.e. of Fécamp] cantum discerent et cantarent.'

J. W. says two of the monks were killed and fourteen wounded. The chronicle puts the numbers at two and eighteen. J. W. says the king removed the abbot and put him in his own monastery in Normandy, while the monks were dispersed in various monasteries. After the king's death he purchased back the abbey for £500 from William and eventually died in misery, a long way from the monastery. None of this is in the chronicle. J. W. says that queen Matilda died this year on Thursday, the fourth of the nones of November (2nd Nov.); E says on the fourth. J. W. alone says she was buried at Caen.

1084. J. W. says William took six shillings from every hide of land in England. E, which puts this entry in 1083, says two and seventy pence.

1085. The first entry in J. W. is not traceable to an earlier writer. It contains the obit of Eadmund, abbot of Pershore, his burial by Serlo, abbot of Gloucester, and his succession by Thurstan, monk of Gloucester. The rest of the annal is very like that in E, the latter being a little more full.

1086. In this annal J. W. describes the Domesday survey, which is told at considerably greater length under

the year 1085 in E. He describes the knighting of prince Henry and the swearing of fealty of all the landowners in the kingdom as in MS. E, but omits William's journey to the Isle of Wight and his imposition of a fuel tax. The next clause is an interesting variation. The chronicle says Eadgar Aetheling left the king because he had no great honour from him, adding the words 'May God Almighty give him worship in the future,' which shows the phrase was contemporaneous. J. W. who was writing much later, says that the aetheling Eadgar proceeded to Apulia with 200 knights. The entry of Eadgar's sister Christina into the nunnery at Romsey is alike in both writers.

1087. The first two sentences in J. W. are enlarged into a long paragraph in MS. E with many details and with a bitter denunciation of the Normans not in J. W. So also with the account of the murder of Canute the Danish king. The events in Spain reported in E are not named by J. W. He gives the names of the four dignitaries who died this year which E omits, viz. bishop Stigand of Chichester, Scolland, abbot of St. Augustine's, Alsius of Bath and Thurstan of Pershore. The story of the campaign against Mantes and the sickness and death of William are virtually the same in both E and J. W. but the former adds a great deal of woeful comment on his alleged misdeeds and some picturesque details not in J. W.

J. W. tells us that several great men who were in custody when king William fell ill were released ('laxavit'). These were Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earls Morcar and Roger, Siward Barn and Wulnoth, brother of king Harold, whom he had kept in custody since his childhood. This is not in E. He also says that his son William brought Wulnoth and Morcar to England and put them in custody on the sixth kalends of October. He says he was crowned on the sixth kalends of October (26th of September), while E puts the coronation on Saint Michael's day, i.e. the 29th Sept. Both describe the dividing of the royal treasures among the English churches, with certain variants pointing to a common source rather than the copying of one by the other. J. W. adds that earl Robert made a similar partition among the churches of Normandy and adds that William (i.e. Rufus) released Ulf, son of Harold once king of the English,

and Duncan, son of Malcolm king of the Scots, knighted them both and allowed them to depart. This is not in E.

1088. The revolt of the Norman grandees against William and in favour of Robert is in parts very like in both, but J. W. is a good deal longer than E and contains a good many details not in E, while some of the details in E are wanting in J. W. The latter part of the annal relating to the harrying of Worcestershire is given by J. W. in special detail, as might be expected.

1089. The two documents, while partly referring to the same events, have notable variants. Thus J. W. alone gives the date of Lanfranc's death, while MS. E alone tells us of the very late harvest in England and that some did not reap it till 11th November. E adds an ejaculation about Lanfranc which J. W. prudently omits, namely, '*and we trust that he went to the kingdom of heaven.*'

1090. This annal is substantially alike in J. W. and in E, the former being somewhat epitomised and omitting the concluding sentence in which the French king is charged with treachery to his protégé earl Robert. J. W. also states that the land was much ruined by imposts.

1091. The first considerable paragraph in this annal is also alike in both documents, except that MS. E says that the king held his Christmas court at Westminster.

The next paragraph in J. W. about Henry, king William's brother's attack on Mont-Saint-Michel is omitted from E.

The next one, referring to Eadgar Aetheling's deprivation of the lands which earl Robert had given him, his departure for Scotland, the invasion of England by Malcolm and Eadgar, and the loss of the English fleet, is alike in both documents. J. W. alone mentions that William made over twelve towns to Malcolm which his father had taken from him and agreed to pay him yearly twelve marks in gold.

The next paragraph in J. W. contains interesting details of a great fire at Winchester and a destructive hurricane. J. W. says Carlisle was called Lugabalia in Latin and adds that it had been deserted two hundred years; while E alone tells us that he restored it to Dolphin, who formerly possessed it, and that he sent a large number of men and women to settle there.

The notice about the departure of earl Robert to Normandy with Eadgar is almost alike in both. J. W. adds that the king returned to Wessex through Mercia.

The last interesting clause in this year in J. W. about the trouble caused by two contemporary popes is not mentioned by E.

1092. The rebuilding of Carlisle by William is mentioned in both J. W. and E with quite different details. This event is the only one referred to in this year by E, which entirely omits the references to the great fire at London; the dedication of the church which bishop Osmund had built in the castle of Old Sarum by Osmund himself, with the assistance of Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and John, bishop of Bath, on the nones of April; and the quarrel of the king with bishop Remigius.

1093. In this annal J. W. contains several details and some longer passages not in E. He says William fell ill at his royal vill called Alweston. In giving the archbishopric to Anselm he says that he did not allow him to receive anything from the see beyond that which the king had allotted him, until the money he had received from it every year since Lanfranc's death had been repaid. He also mentions that Rees, i.e. Rhys, king of the Welsh, was killed at Brecknock, after which kings ceased to reign in Wales. He alone gives the date of Malcolm's visit to the king at Gloucester, i.e. St. Bartholomew's day. The chronicle says the king would not see him; so they parted without agreement. J. W. says he also wished to compel him to do homage, in accordance with the decision of many barons of his own court, but Malcolm objected to do this except on the confines of his own kingdom, where the homage had previously been done, and according to the judgment of both kingdoms. He alone mentions the date of Malcolm's death, i.e. the day of St. Brice, and how thereupon Margaret, who had prayed she might die too, had not long to wait before her prayer was answered, for in three days after the death of the king she also died. He adds a panegyric of her. The rest of the narrative about Scotland is in both works. J. W. adds that this year a beautiful sign appeared in the sun, and Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, Guy, abbot of St. Augustine's, and Paul,

abbot of St. Albans, died, as did also Robert, earl of Flanders, who was succeeded by his son Robert. On the other hand MS. E gives us the name of the man who killed Malcolm, namely Morael of Baebbaburh, i.e. Bamburgh, the earl's steward and Malcolm's own godsib, i.e. sponsor. He adds that with him was slain his son Eadward, who would have been king after him.

1094. The first paragraph in J. W. refers to the death of Arfast, bishop of Thetford. He then goes on to report the shameless conduct of his successor Herbert, named Losinga. He had been prior of Fécamp (Fescamni) and abbot of Ramsey, and now bought the see of Thetford. His father Rotbert, who bore the same cognomen, was intruded into the abbey of Winchester. Of Herbert J. W. adds in quaint Latin: '*Verumtamen erroneum impetum juventatis abolevit poenitentia, Romam profectus severioribus annis, ubi loci simoniacum baculum et annulum deponens, indulgentiam clementissimae sedis iterum recipere meruit. Domum vero reversus, sedem episcopalem transportavit ad insignem mercimoniis et populorum frequentia vicum nomine Nordwic, ibique monachorum congregationem instituit.*' None of this is in E, which simply mentions Losinga's deprivation by William.

J. W. says that after his breach with his brother Robert returned to Rouen and William to Owe (i.e. Eu). The latter induced the Norman nobles by bribes of gold and silver and lands to abandon Robert and join him. They also surrendered their castles, and he put garrisons in them. J. W. says that William kept the French prisoners till they were ransomed. He adds that William Peverel and 800 men who were defending Hølm (La Houlme) surrendered to him. William who had summoned 20,000, having no more need for them, took from them the money he had given them and dismissed them. This is told in both accounts, and J. W. adds that this was done at Hastings and by the agency of Ranulf Passeflambard. He also says that the king this year laid a heavy tax on the country and there was a famine. In the troubles with the Welsh, he adds that the North Welsh and South Welsh both joined in the revolt and that they devastated the counties of Chester, Shropshire and Hereford and the castle in the Isle of Man and reduced the island to subjection. He

also adds that this year the king returned from Normandy and had a campaign in Wales where he lost many men and horses. The chronicle contains some statements not in J. W.. The rest of the annals are much alike in both documents.¹

1095. The first paragraph in J. W. has a notice of the death of the famous bishop Wulfstan, who had presided over Worcester with so much benefit, the date of which he sets out in several modes of calculating. He tells us that in the very hour of his death he appeared in a vision to a friend whom he specially loved, namely, Robert, bishop of Hereford, at Cricklade and ordered him to hasten to Worcester to bury him, and he remarks that the ring he wore when he received the pontifical blessing was buried with him. It is curious that the death of so famous a man should not be mentioned in the chronicle. Both works mention the great display of shooting stars this year. The date is more definitely given in the chronicle, which says it was on the mass-day of St. Ambrose, i.e. 4th April.

J. W. alone mentions that the pall brought from Rome by the pope's legate for Anselm was laid on the altar and kissed by all. The chronicle gives other details not in J. W. J. W. is also alone in mentioning the death of Robert, bishop of Hereford, of whom he does not give a very favourable account. He says that Wulfstan thirty days after his own death appeared to this Robert in a vision and reproved him for his faults, but in a kindly way.

J. W. alone mentions the conspiracy of Robert, earl of Northumberland, who was joined by William of Eu, and says that they proposed to depose William and to put his aunt's son ('filium amitae suae'), Stephen of Aumâle, on the throne. This was unsuccessful, for William marched to Northumberland and besieged the earl's castle situated at the mouth of the Tyne, and made most of his best soldiers prisoners. He then besieged the earl in Bamburgh. This is told with different details by the chronicle, as is the attempt to capture the castle which William had built for siege-purposes by Robert. J. W. alone states that Robert

¹ Thorpe has in this annal followed MS. C.C.C. Oxon, where some scribe has erased the former entry and substituted a fresh one.

He prints the earlier text of the paragraph in a note as it is given in Howard's edition.

fled to St. Oswin's monastery, where he was severely wounded and eventually captured in a neighbouring castle and imprisoned at Windsor. Here again the chronicle has other details. The Welsh campaign is reported in both documents, but again with different details.

1096. J. W. alone states that bishop William of Durham, who died at Windsor, was buried at Durham, and gives us the date of his obit. The punishment of the count of Owe (Eu) and his abettors in rebellion is told almost in the same words in both accounts, but J. W. gives us the additional name of Philip, son of Roger de Montgomery, among those punished. The crusade preached by pope Urban at Clermont is mentioned in both works, but the details are quite different and J. W. alone gives the names of the principal men who took part in it. J. W. also alone mentions the consecration of Samson at St Paul's as bishop of Worcester by St. Anselm on the 17th of the kalends of July, i.e. 15th June. J. W. again is alone in giving the arrangement between earl Robert and king William by which the former pawned the duchy of Normandy for 10,000 marks. In order to raise the money, the nobles were bidden to subscribe according to their means, while the bishops broke up the gold and silver ornaments of their churches and the earls, barons and sheriffs spoiled their knights and villeins. The king duly went to Normandy and having received 6,666 pounds from Robert, the latter gave him a mortgage of the duchy.

1097. The first paragraph in J. W. is about the campaign of William in Wales in which he intended, according to this account, to massacre all the male inhabitants, but lost many men and horses. The chronicle contains a much longer story with many more details and is clearly quite independent. The same is true of the expedition into Scotland by Eadgar the aetheling who put his namesake, the son of Malcolm on the throne and drove out the latter's uncle Dufenald. J. W. alone mentions the capture of Nicaea by the Christians. The details of the comet are different in the two documents; so is the date. In the chronicle it is dated the fourth of the nones of October (4th October) and in J. W. on the third of the kalends of the same month (29th September). The quarrel

of Anselm with the king is told with more details in J. W. The obit of Baldwin, abbot of St. Edmunds, is told in J. W. alone. He says he was a Frenchman and well skilled in medicine, and that he was buried in the choir of the principal church. The Abingdon copy of J. W. has the following gloss: 'Decessit etiam dominus Rainaldus abbas Abbdoniae.'¹

1098. This is a long annal full of incidents in J. W. but the only things in common with the chronicle are the three obits of the bishop of Winchester and the abbots of Peterborough and Westminster and the death of earl Hugh. The conquest of Le Mans is mentioned in the chronicle in the next annal, but it is clear the two authorities are very distinct.

1099. The same is the case with the first clause of this annal which in J. W. is entirely devoted to the council held by pope Urban in Rome in the third week of Easter (10th April) and its doings. Not a word is said of this in the chronicle, which deals with entirely different matters. Then comes a short sentence about the king's return from Normandy (with greater details as to dates in the chronicle) and the appointment of Ranulf (who is styled the king's extortioner by J. W.), to the see of Durham. The latter alone mentions Ranulf's consecration by the archbishop of York. J. W. then has another paragraph, not in the chronicle. It mentions the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians and the appointment of Godfrey of Lorraine as head of the army, the death of pope Urban, the victory of the Christians near Ascalon and the election of Paschal as pope, none of which events are mentioned in the chronicle. The last two clauses about the great flood in England and the death of bishop Osmund of Salisbury occur in both. J. W. alone gives the actual date of the latter, viz. iii non. December (3rd December).

1100. The obit of pope Clement is given only by J. W. So also is the rebuilding of the abbey church of Gloucester by Serlo and its consecration this year by the bishops of Worcester, Rochester, Hereford and Bangor. The death of king William is given in both documents, but J. W. alone tells us that he was killed by a Frenchman,

¹ Thorpe ii, 41, note 2.

Walter named Tirell, in the New forest 'called Ytene in the English tongue.' He alone states that a large district had been depopulated by the elder William in order to make the chase, the death of the latter's son Richard in the same forest, and that Richard, son of Robert, duke of Normandy, had also been killed there by an arrow shot by one of his knights. J. W. adds that on the spot where the younger William fell there had formerly been a church which was destroyed by his father. None of this is in the chronicle. J. W. alone says that this year many signs appeared in the sun, moon and stars, and the sea overflowed the shore, drowning cattle and men. The flowing of blood from the ground in Berkshire prior to king William's death is mentioned in both, but the chronicle alone says it was on Whitsunday. J. W. says it lasted three weeks. The latter alone mentions that the devil appeared to many Normans in the woods and spake much to them about the king and bishop Ranulf. 'Nor is it to be wondered at,' he says, 'for in their time law was almost silenced and money ruled supreme.' A long notice then follows reporting the evil deeds of bishop Ranulf, none of which is in the chronicle. Both documents mention that at the date of his death the king held in his hands the archbishopric of Canterbury and the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury (MS. E. of the chronicle adds twelve abbacies). Both report the succession of Henry and his consecration by bishop Maurice. Then follows a panegyric of Henry in both, but with different terms and details. Both mention the imprisonment of bishop Ranulf, the recall of Anselm and the return of Robert, duke of Normandy, earl Robert of Flanders and Eustace of Boulogne from Jerusalem, but J. W. alone states that Robert was accompanied by his wife whom he had married in Sicily. Both report the marriage of Henry and Matilda in similar terms and both name the death of Thomas, archbishop of York, but J. W. alone gives the date and an appreciation of him and tells us he was succeeded by Gerard, bishop of Hereford. In the Abingdon manuscript there is an interesting interpolation, thus: 'Quarto itaque mense regni illius die omnium sanctorum per manum episcopi Lincolniensis Rotberti dominum Faricium, ex Malmesbiriensi coenobio monachum, Abendoniam direxit,

et ut debitam illi subjectionem deferrent monachis mandavit; utiliorem eis fore nusquam ut rebatur posse se providere patronum contestans. Hic itaque genere Italicus, seculari prudentia cautissimus, literarum adprime scientia optime eruditus, medecinæ peritia adeo exercitatus, ut ejus solius antidotum confectionibus rex ipse se crederet saepe medendum. Erat et Romanae ecclesiae notus, cum et in ea tum multis, et in aliis ecclesiis per Ausonias oras diu deguerit. Quare tantae opinionis personam archiepiscopo Anselmo ab hac vita migrato parasset rex substituere, nisi norma aequitatis ejus inflexibilis quibusdam majoris ordinis ecclesiastici suspecta ipsorum factione id tum perturbaretur.¹

1101. The chronicle alone mentions that bishop Ranulf escaped from the Tower of London, while J. W. alone describes the burning of Gloucester and its monastery on Friday, the eighth of the ides of June. He also gives details of Robert's invasion not in the chronicle; *inter alia* he says that he assembled a large number of horsemen, archers and footmen and collected ships at a place called Portesmouth (Portsmouth) and the king went to meet him at Hastings. The chronicle says it was at Pevensey, and it alone gives the date of Robert's landing at Portsmouth. J. W. alone says it was Ralph who detached the English sailors from their allegiance and that Robert started about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1st August). He alone also tells us that, while some of the nobles deserted the king as they had intended, others stood by him (concealing their real intention), as did the bishops, mercenary soldiers and the English. Peace was now made by the intervention of the wiser men. The chronicle has more details of the arrangement with Robert than J. W. and notably mentions that whichever of the two brothers survived was to succeed to his brother's portion, which is not in J. W. The last paragraph in J. W. is omitted in the chronicle. He mentions the death of Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, and his burial in the church of Golgotha and the election of Baldwin in his place. He also mentions that Robert of Belesme began to fortify the bridge at Bridgnorth with a wide, deep and

¹ Thorpe ii, 47, 3.

lofty wall. This he did in agreement with the king. He also commenced another at a place he calls Caroclove. None of this is in the chronicle.

1102. The account of Robert of Belesme's rebellion is much longer in J. W. than in the chronicle and the details are quite different. The same is true of the rest of the annal, in which J. W. alone mentions the appointment of the king's chancellor as bishop of Salisbury and his larderer as bishop of Hereford. He also gives a long list of those who attended Anselm's great synod of London on questions relating to the Christian faith, and adds that Osbern, bishop of Exeter, did not attend, being detained by infirmity. He gives a list of various abbots both French and English who were deprived for having lived unrighteously, and mentions the death of Roger, bishop of Hereford, and his succession by the queen's chaplain Reignelm, and that king Henry gave Mary, the queen's sister, in marriage to Eustace, count of Boulogne. None of this is in the chronicle.

In the early printed edition of J. W. we read: '*In hoc anno xiv kal. Maii (18th April), indictione decima, pontificatus autem domini Paschalis secundi papae anno tertio, translata est sedes episcopalis de Cestria ad Coventriam.*'¹

1103. J. W. alone mentions the king's quarrel with Anselm on the subject of investitures and that Anselm refused to consecrate formally or communicate with those to whom the king had already given churches, because the pope had forbidden it; upon which the king ordered Gerard, archbishop of York, to consecrate William Giffard [as bishop of Winchester] and Roger his chaplain as bishop of Salisbury. Giffard refused to accept consecration at Gerard's hands, whereupon he was despoiled of his possessions and expelled the kingdom. Other bishops remained unconsecrated, while Reignelm surrendered his bishopric, deeming his own position irregular. J. W. alone gives the date of Anselm's departure to Rome, namely the fifth of the kalends of May (27th April): he took with him William, bishop elect of Winchester, and abbots Richard of Ely and Aldwin of Ramsey.

¹ Thorpe ii, 51, note.

The great wind is dated on St. Lawrence's day in the chronicle and on the third of the ides of August (11th August) by J. W.

1104. J. W. mentions the holding of the king's court at Whitsuntide, but not the Christmas one at Westminster or the one at Windsor at Easter. Nor does he give the specific dates like the chronicle. He also gives the obits of Walter, abbot of Evesham, and Serlo of Gloucester, neither of which is mentioned in the chronicle. The solar phenomena are mentioned in both documents. J. W. dates them at the sixth hour, the chronicle at midday; but they both clearly come from one source. The two short clauses about the disinheritance of the earl of Mortain and the general misery in England are also in both, but J. W. entirely omits the reconciliation of Henry and Robert of Belesme and the treachery of the Norman nobles to earl Robert, which are both in the chronicle. J. W. alone reports the exhumation of the body of St. Cuthberht in the pontificate of bishop Ranulf to satisfy the credulity of certain abbots, and says that it, as well as the head of St. Oswald the martyr and the relics of St. Bede and of many saints, were found to be evidently uncorrupted. This was done by Ralph of Sééz, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and the brethren of Durham in the presence of Alexander brother of Eadgar king of the Scots. For the privilege of being present Alexander gave many marks of gold and silver and prepared a shrine in which the sacred body was enveloped in new vestments.

1105. The description of Henry's visit to Normandy and the submission of earl Robert's barons to him are told in both works, but with differing details and phraseology.

1106. Earl Robert's visit to Henry at Northampton and his unsuccessful attempt to recover his lands are told by both writers in the same way. So is also the appearance of a curious star, of which the same detailed account is given by each author, also the appearance of two moons. A short sentence about Henry's visit to Normandy and the submission of some of the Normans is told in both, but J. W. gives more details of the strife between the emperor and his son in Saxony. J. W. alone mentions

the meeting of the king and Anselm at Bec and the latter's return to England. The struggle at Tenchebrai between the king and earl Robert is told in almost the same language in both works. The chronicle alone mentions that Eadgar the aetheling was with earl Robert on this occasion and was captured and afterwards released.

1107. J. W. alone mentions the sending of earl Robert and William, earl of Mortain, in custody to England and their release when the king returned to England. None of this is in the chronicle. J. W. then gives a long and detailed account of a great synod of all the bishops, abbots and nobles at the king's palace. At this the question of investitures was fully discussed and the king conceded the demand of the pope on the question, while Anselm agreed to consecrate all such bishops as had done homage to the king. Gerard, archbishop of York, placed his hand in that of Anselm and promised the same submission as the bishop of Hereford had promised before his consecration. J. W. gives the names of the bishops who were then consecrated and of those bishops who assisted at the consecration and remarks: '*Nullus certe fuit tunc temporis qui meminisset retroactis temporibus tot simul pastores electos et ordinatos in Anglia nisi regis Eadwardi senioris tempore, quando Plegmundus archiepiscopus vii episcopos vii ecclesiis in uno die ordinavit.*' In the earlier printed editions we have the apparent gloss: '*In presentis concilii conventu, Aldwino Ramesiensi apostolico jussu restituta est abbatia quam Romae sibi injuria subtractam questus est; venerabilis etiam Cantuariensis ecclesiae prior Arnulfus ibi de Burh abbas eligitur.*'¹ MS. E has only a couple of sentences about the event. It adds the cryptic sentence that what was done was without consultation with the nobles and the court. It also says that Ernulf, who had been prior of Canterbury, succeeded to the abbacy of Peterborough and adds that several abbots were appointed. J. W. also mentions the deaths this year of Miles Crispin, Robert fitz Hamon, Roger Bigod and Richard de Redvers, the king's counsellors.

We have now reached a point where J. W. apparently ceased to derive any help from the chronicle, and it is not

¹ Thorpe ii, 57, note.

improbable that the copy of the chronicle which he had been following ended about the year 1107. The only common materials between chronicle E, or rather EE, and J. W. from this time onwards are single sentences relating to events of high moment which were necessarily recorded in every authority. I do not propose, therefore, to describe the text of J. W. with the same detail that I have been giving, since my main object in this analysis has been to point out the differences which separate the contents of the work of J. W. from those preserved in any of the existing copies of the chronicle.

1108. This is a long annal in J. W. The only statements in it which are like those in the chronicle are the obit of archbishop Gerard of York and that of Philip, king of France. Even in these they differ, for the chronicle alone gives the days of death, while J. W. tells us that Gerard's successor Thomas was his cousin on the father's side.

1109. In this annal the only common entries are (i) the obit of archbishop Anselm in which, however, they differ in describing the date. J. W. gives it as the 11th of the kalends of May (i.e. 21st April) while the chronicle says before Pentecost (i.e. before the 24th of May). (ii) Henry's return from Normandy is dated by J. W. in Rogation week, while the chronicle puts it before Whitsuntide. The rest of the annals is unlike.

1110. This again is a very long annal in J. W. largely taken up with a document setting out the terms of peace between the king and the pope. Both annals contain references to natural phenomena, but they are all, save one, different occurrences with different details in each. The exception refers to the severe winter and great destruction of trees.

1111. This is blank in J. W. but there is a considerable paragraph in the chronicle.

1112. This again is a long annal in J. W. the greater part being occupied with the council of the Lateran and its decrees. None of this or of any other statement in J. W. is in the chronicle, except the bare mention of the imprisonment of Robert of Belesme. J. W. adds that he was imprisoned at Carisbrooke.

1113. Here again the single common entry in the two

works is the imprisonment of Robert of Belesme (who, it will be noted, was a very famous person) at Wareham. The rest of the entry in J. W. is, however, very interesting for our purpose. It says: 'The city of Worcester with its cathedral church and all the other churches and the castle were consumed by fire on the thirteenth of the kalends of July (19th June). There perished in the flames one of the monks who had been most useful in the monastery, with ten servants and fifteen citizens. Thomas the prior and Coleman, celebrated monks of St. Mary at Worcester and men of rare worth, departed this life on Saturday, the fourth of the nones of October.' Then follow the following verses:

Communi sorti solventes debita morti,
Gaudia summa petant, ubi summa pace quiescant
Cum sanctis laeta contemplando sine meta.

We then read that Teoulf, the king's chaplain, was made bishop of Worcester.

III4. Of this long annal the only common statements of J. W. and the chronicle are (i) the obit of the archbishop of York, of which J. W. alone gives the date, and the appointment of Thurstan as his successor. Here again J. W. alone gives the date and tells us he was elected at Winchester. (ii) The appointment of Ralph, bishop of Rochester, to the see of Canterbury. J. W. alone gives the date and tells us the election took place at Windsor. There is further a short notice of a great ebb of the waters in the Thames, but with different details.

This is worth repeating not merely as a sample of the differences between the two texts, but intrinsically. J. W. says: 'Fluvius Medewege vocatus, per nonnulla milliaria vi idus Octobris (10th October) ita a se defecit, ut in medio alveo sui etiam parvissimae naves ob penuriam aquae elabi aliquatenus minime possent. Tamesis nihilominus eadem illa die defectui patuit; nam inter pontem et regiam turrim, sub ponte etiam, in tantum fluminis ipsius aqua diminuta est, ut non solum equi, sed et innumera hominum et puerorum multitudo illud pedibus transvadarent, aqua vix genus eorum attingente. Duravit autem hic aquae defectus a medio noctis praecedentis usque in

profundas tenebras noctis subsequentis. Similem quoque aquarum defectum ipso die apud Gernemutham [i.e. Yarmouth] et in aliis locis per Angliam certo relatu contigisse didicimus.'

In the chronicle we merely read 'In this year was so great an ebb everywhere in one day as no man before remembered, and so that men went riding and walking over the Thames to the east of the bridge at London.'

1115. There is only one short notice in common between the two authorities, namely, that about the bringing of the pall by the legate Anselm to Ralph, the new archbishop of Canterbury, and this is differently phrased; all the other entries refer to different matters.

1116. In this year there is not a single matter in common between the two documents.

1117. This is also true of this annal, except the mention of the obit of Gilbert, abbot of Westminster, and in this case the chronicle does not give the date. In the Abingdon manuscript we have the further clause: 'vir etiam laudabilis dominus Faricius abbas Abbendonensis cum ejus industria opes illius ecclesiae multiplicatae de die in diem augmentarentur, decidit in aegritudinem qui ex hac luce subtractus a laboribus suis beato fine quievit xvii videlicet regiminis sui anno vii kal. Martii (23rd February).'¹

1118. The only notice in common in this annal is the obit of queen Matilda. J. W. is notable for one entry which has been mentioned on an earlier page. It runs thus: 'Nonis Julii (7th July) obiit dominus Florentius Wigorniensis monachus. Hujus nobili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, praeeminet cunctis haec Chronicorum Chronica.

Corpus terra tegit, spiritus astra petat
Quo cernendo Deum cum sanctis regnet in aevum.
Amen.'

It is curious what a large part the affairs of the continent occupy in the narrative of J. W. at this time.

¹ Thorpe, 70, note.

1119. In this year the substance of the annals agrees considerably in the two documents. This is true of the death of Gelasius the pope, of his burial at Cluny, where he died, and of his succession by Guy, archbishop of Vienne, named Calixtus.

The obits of the bishops of Hereford and Norwich are given only in J. W. The account of the war between Henry and the French king is told with different detail. J. W. says that as a term of the peace William received Normandy as a fief from the French king and Henry took the opportunity of allying himself with the earl of Anjou by marriage between his son William and the latter's daughter. The great earthquake is reported in both works, but with different details. In regard to the council held at Rheims which J. W. calls 'generale concilium,' J. W. alone reports that the English bishops who were with the king at Rheims, namely those of Exeter, Durham, St. Davids (Menevensis) and Glamorgan (Glamorgatensis), attended the council as well as the bishops and abbots of Normandy, which is not mentioned in the chronicle. The story of the bad faith of the papal authorities is told much in the same way in both, but J. W. alone says that Thurstan bribed the pope's officials to secure his consecration. He also alone says that the consecration was attended at the bidding of the French bishops, but not by the English who had not then arrived.

Arnold in his edition of Simeon, II, xxi, says: 'From 1119 he (i.e. Simeon) loses Florence, and becomes an independent authority.' In the last paragraph of this annal MS. Dublin 502 in the phrase 'Othnel frater ejus' qualifies 'ejus' with the name Willelmus Bigod.¹

1120. Only one small sentence is alike in the two works, namely, the statement that before leaving Normandy the king settled things there prosperously after his will. All the rest of the annal is quite different in detail.

1121. In this year a long annal in J. W. is represented by a much shorter one in the chronicle. They refer to entirely different incidents except the bald reference to the

¹ Weaver, 15, note.

king's marriage to queen Adelisa and his campaigns against the Welsh, and the latter is told differently in each. In the Abingdon manuscript we have in this year the additional clause: 'Rex etiam optimatum suorum concilio, Abbendonensi ecclesiae praefecit in pastorem bonae famae virum nomine Vincentium, ex Gemmeticensi ecclesia monachum, cunctis qui aderant id laudantibus; erat enim valde benignus, ac pietatis gratia plenus; omnibus compatiabatur, omnes pio affectu diligebat.'¹

1122. This annal is very different from the chronicle. The only two facts in common are the fire at Gloucester, which the chronicle gives at greater length but which is an insertion in that document and not a part of the text. It is also dated on a different day in each document. The death of the archbishop is also dated by each on a different day. All the other entries in the annal are different in the two works. It is clear that the two works are quite separate here.

1123. The account of the sudden death of the bishop of Lincoln, which is told with many picturesque details at considerable length in the chronicle, is mentioned only in a bald sentence in J. W. The former calls him Roger Bloet, while the latter calls him Robert.

The death of Ranulf the chancellor, given by J. W. is not in the chronicle. The details about the election of the new archbishop are quite different in the two authors. The dates of his election and consecration are only in J. W. who also adds that the ceremony was performed by bishop William of Winchester, assisted by many others. The visit of the archbishop of Canterbury to Rome, accompanied by several suffragans, is of course, in both works. J. W. says he was accompanied by Thurstan, the archbishop of York, which is not stated in the chronicle. It on the other hand gives some names not in J. W. Nothing is said in the chronicle about the return of the archbishop from Rome, as in J. W. The death of Alexander, king of the Scots, which is put in this year by J. W. is put in 1124 in the chronicle. The other entries in J. W. are not in the other work. On the other hand the chronicle has many interesting details not

¹ Thorpe, ii, 75, note.

in J. W. and the two are clearly of quite distinct origin.

MS. C.C.C. Oxon. has two marginal glosses to this annal, i.e. (i) in regard to Teolfus the bishop of Worcester it says : 'Teolfus regis capellanus xxvius Wigorniensis antistes obiit apud Hampton villam suam' ; (ii) it says of him 'in Suth Saxonia locavit.'¹

1024. The death of Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, and the capture of Galeran, count of Mellent, are mentioned in both documents ; but J. W. gives merely two bald sentences, while the chronicle has a long paragraph with many details. J. W. merely mentions the death of Ernulf, a very famous person, while the chronicle gives his death-day and says he had been abbot of Peterborough. The death of pope Calixtus and the succession of Honorius are given by both : all the other entries are different, and the chronicle has many details not in J. W. The only common matter is that of very wide interest which could hardly be omitted by a chronicler and is differently told. In MS. C.C.C. Oxon we have the following gloss to this annal : 'Radulfus Luffa Cicestrensis episcopus successor Willelmi successoris Stigandi vitae modum fecit.'²

1125. The punishment of unjust coiners is mentioned in both works, but told differently. The contents of the rest of this very long annal in J. W. are none of them in the chronicle. On the other hand it is curious that he omits all mention of the visit of the two English archbishops and several bishops to Rome this year.

1126. The first long clause in J. W. about the claims of the archbishop of York to be the equal of his brother of Canterbury are not mentioned in the chronicle. J. W. says that the great gathering of the notables to settle the crown on Henry's daughter was held in London—the chronicle says it was at Windsor. The details of this court are quite different in the two notices. The chronicle also dates the event in 1127. The rest of the annal is quite different in each. In the Gloucester manuscript there is a gloss to the obit of Hugo, abbot of St. Augustine's : 'dominica die Passionis Domini subito paralisi percussus.'³

¹ Weaver, 18, 1 and 2.

² Weaver, 18, 3.

³ Weaver, 23, note.

1127. This long annal in J. W. is entirely devoted to the synod held in London, a description of those present, its pronouncements and their confirmation by the king, none of which is in the chronicle, which deals with entirely different matters. In the Gloucester manuscript of J. W. we have the following additional entry: 'Ricardus Herefordensis episcopus . . . cum coepiscopis in aecclesia sepilitur. Comes Flandrensis Karolus prima ebdomada xl^e in aecclesia Sancti Domnini in oratione positus a suis injuste perimitur, cujus suscepit comitatum Willelmus filius Rodberti comitis, Normannorum cum maximo favore multorum populorum. Rex Anglorum Henricus mare transit, Normanniam adiit et contra nepotem suum Willelmum comitem Flandrensem magnum conflictum iniit. Inventio corporis sancti Mathiae apostoli in civitate Treverensi in aecclesia sancti Eucharri archiepiscopi dominica ante natalem Domini quod sanctus Aegricius archiepiscopus illuc attulerat de Constantinopoli tempore Constantini senioris ex dono sancte Helenae reginae tempristive (sic) instituitur. Rogerius de Berkeleio junior iiij^o kal. Nov. vita decedens, ante fores aecclesiae sancti Petri de Glocestria sepultus quiescit.'¹

1128. This is another long annal and J. W. has only one reference in common with the chronicle, namely, the end of the count of Flanders which is told, however, with quite different details. In the Abingdon chronicle we have the following additional clause this year: 'Godefridus abbas Scropbiriensis ix kal. Aprilis (24th March) obiit. Vir religionis eximiae Cantuariæ prior, Gosfridus nomine, rege Scottorum David petente, et archiepiscopo Willelmo annuente, abbas eligitur ad locum in Scottia qui Dunfermelin dicitur. Ordinatus est autem a Roberto, episcopo ecclesiae sancti Andreae. Urbanus Landavensis episcopus prospero reditu Angliam revertitur. Regio jussu praecepta apostolica complentur sicque nunc ille quaesitis ex Dei gratia positur. De collegio fratrum Scropberiae Deo servientium unus electus Herbertus nomine a Willelmo Dorubernensi archiepiscopo apud Lewes abbas consecratur et ecclesiae Scropbircensi abbas jam praeficitur.'²

¹ Weaver, 25, note 3.

² Thorpe, 90.

1129. There is only one incident which is mentioned this year both by J. W. and in the chronicle, namely the obit of William, bishop of Winchester. Their contents are otherwise quite different. In the Gloucester manuscript we also read this year: 'vº id. Jan. die dominico Honorius papa obiit, cui Innocentius qui et Gregorius successit. Invasit quoque apostolicatum Petrus qui et Anacletus. Facta est tribulatio et turbatio magna in aecclesia.' It also tells us that at a council held in London at which king Henry was present: 'ex auctoritate apostolica confirmata est festivitas Conceptionis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae.'¹

1133 and 1134 are entirely vacant in the chronicle, but there is an entry under each year in J. W. In this annal J. W. writing of Henry, bishop of Winchester (who had made Robert, a monk of Flemish descent but born in England, bishop of Bath), adds: 'Sic enim disposuit Wintoniensis episcopus Heinricus, non tunc sed nunc Romae ecclesiae legatus,' showing it was a contemporary notice. In MS. C.C.C. Oxon 157, there is a long story about the capture of two Christians by a Saracen who killed one because he would not repudiate his faith and spared the other who did so.²

1135. The mere facts of the death of king Henry, the succession of Stephen and the revolt of Baldwin de Redvers in Devon are named in both writings, but the details are entirely different.

1136. This annal is vacant in the chronicle, while there is a considerable entry in J. W. In MS. Dublin 502, the obit of Godfred of Winchcombe is put in this year with those of the abbots of Pershore and Tewkesbury.

1137. The two long annals are entirely different in the two authorities, except the mere mention of the king's visit to Normandy. The writer of the annal in J. W. here alludes to himself. Referring to a miracle which he reports he says: 'ut aure percepi praecedens miraculum: Wintoniensis episcopus Heinricus subsequens vero narravit.'³

This year we have in the Gloucester manuscript the

¹ Weaver, 29, notes 5 and 6.

² Weaver, 38 and 39.

³ See under 1134, where this bishop is referred to.

following insertion: 'Godefridus Wincelcumbensis abbas aeclesiae xvii^o prelationis suae anno, ii non Martii, vita decessit. Sequenti ebdomada, videlicet idibus Martii, magnae religionis et castitatis vir Benedictus, Theokesberiensis aeclesiae abbas, xiii^o prelationis suae anno migravit ad Dominum.' Mr. Weaver publishes two miraculous stories about this Benedict which only occur in MS. C.C.C. Oxon 157.¹

1138. In this year J. W. has a very long annal, while the chronicle has merely two sentences dealing with king David of Scotland. Not a word about this is in J. W. whose annal refers to entirely different matters. There is clearly no connexion between the two entries. In this annal are inserted the two lines in verse claiming it as the handiwork of John referred to in the beginning of this paper. In this annal MS. Dublin interpolates an interesting note about the death of the anti-pope. It says: 'Defuncto sedis apostolicae invasore Petro Leone anno ix^o invasionis suae, venerabilis papa Gregorius qui et Innocentius sanctam regens ecclesiam ad satisfactionem venientes cunctos qui in parte Petri contra eum tum erant suscepit.' Later on is another gloss about Pershore. It says: 'Peracta assumptione sanctae Mariae, huiusmodi fama victoriae ad regem usque pervenit, qui tunc capto Saresberienensi castello circa urbem Brucge obsidionem in vigilia sancti Bartholomei gaudens agebat. Ibi quoque positus cuidam monacho de quadam cella Eye dicta Willelmo nomine, constabularii ejusdem loci castelli germano, Persorensis aeclesiae praelationem concessit qui ad suam exinde veniens sedem a Wigornienensi praesule Symone xii kal. Dec. die dominica, abbas Persorensis aeclesiae ordinatur Wigorniae.'²

1139. This year is vacant in the chronicle, and is occupied by a very long annal in J. W. In it the writer speaks of Stephen as being king at the time he was writing. He thus apostrophises him: 'Rex est pacis, et o utinam rex vigoris, justitiae, conterens sub pedibus inimicos et aequa lance judicii decernens omnia, in robore fortitudinis conservans pacis amicus.' Again in the same annal, in describing the woeful plight of the cathedral of Worcester, a passage

¹ Weaver, 41 and 42.

² Weaver, 53, note.

which could have been written only by an eye-witness, he tells us how he shared with the other members of the choir in the danger. His words are: 'Nos autem timentes ornamentis sanctuarii, benignissimi patroni nostri Oswaldi reliquias albis induti tota sonante classe cum humili processione foris extulimus et ob hostium irruptionem de porta ad portam per caemiterium deportavimus.'

1140. In this year there is a long annal in both J. W. and the chronicle; but they differ entirely in contents, except that both mention the marriage of Eustace, son of Stephen, with the daughter of the French king; but the details even of this are quite different.

The Corpus Christi Oxon manuscript of J. W. ends abruptly in the middle of the narrative at this point, showing that that copy of the chronicle is a scribe's copy.

In the Gloucester manuscript we have some glosses in this year. It says of Gosfred who was made abbot of Abbotsbury (Abbedesbiriensis): 'monacho de sancto Floscello.' As a gloss on the mention of Thurstan the same manuscript adds 'in ordine xxvius sanctarum elemosinarum sedulus executor, plurimorum monasteriorum, Hagustaldensis scilicet et sanctimonialium in diocesi sua et Fontium, aliorumque circiter octo, strenuus fundator sive renovator vir.' Later on in reference to the death of Thurstan we have another gloss in the same manuscript. viz., 'Anno episcopatus sui xxvii'. Corpus vero ejus post annum et mensem quinque sepulturae sunt suae integrum et odoriferum repertum est.' Again somewhat later still in the same manuscript in reference to Philip, whom the king had made bishop of Salisbury, we read: 'Sed Philippus a legato et clero non recipitur unde inde assumptus Baiocensi ecclesiae post aliquantum tempus praeficitur.' The same manuscript gives the exact date of the eclipse of the sun this year in the words: 'Eclipsis solis facta est xi kal. Aprilis (22nd March) feria secunda circa horam diei tertiam.' These glosses I have taken from Thorpe's collection and Weaver's John of Worcester sub an. In 1139 the same manuscript has the notable entry about the election of the new abbot of Gloucester: 'electum nostrum dominum Gislebertum,' proving the provenance of the manuscript. The same manuscript puts the arrival

of the earl of Gloucester at Portsmouth in July and not October, which Round (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 278) says is right. None of these glosses are in Thorpe's texts. He incorporates others which I, therefore, have not quoted.

1141. This long annal in J. W. is quite unrepresented in the chronicle, which is vacant this year. The annal in J. W. ends abruptly with the word 'crudeliter' in the middle of a sentence. This is apparently due to a mutilation of the manuscript at the end, for the last word is at the end of a folio and it really closes the document we are discussing. In this annal the writer refers to the fact that he had heard from the mouth of Milo, earl of Hereford, who was queen Matilda's great supporter, what he relates about her adventures. His words are: 'sicut ex ipsius Milonis ore audivimus.' This points to the entry having been contemporary.

Where the monastery of Wherwell is mentioned in this annal Thorpe says MS. C, i.e. MS. C.C.C. Oxon has a note thus: 'Hoc monasterium Aelfdryth, uxor regis Eadgari, compuncta privigni sui nece aedificavit in honorem sanctae Crucis.'

In the manuscript 92 at C.C.C. Cambridge, formerly at Peterborough, there are some continuations of J. W. The entries from 1141 to 1152 are taken over bodily from Henry of Huntingdon. From 1152 to 1295 the narrative in the manuscript is in the same hand as the extract from Henry of Huntingdon just named, and is copied from the chronicle of John of Taxter, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, as far as the year 1165 inclusive. In that year the manuscript of John of Taxter ends. The remainder is a compilation by a monk of the same place, probably the scribe himself, as among the events which he records those relating to Bury occupy a considerable space.¹

Returning to the work of John, the Worcester monk, it would seem that our author was responsible for the whole text from the beginning to the year 1141 and that it was issued in at least two editions. One of them terminates with the year 1131 and is represented by MS. Lambeth 42, of the twelfth century and formerly belonging to Abing-

¹ Thorpe ii, preface x.

don; MS. Bodl. 297, of the twelfth century, which formerly belonged to Bury; MS. C.C.C. Cambridge 92, of the thirteenth century, which formerly belonged to Peterborough.

The MS. Dublin 512, which I deem to be the best extant and strictly contemporary, is written in two handwritings, the first of which also ends with 1131. The second handwriting continues to the year 1138 where it ends. This is very substantial evidence, especially as no manuscript ends at an earlier date. In the MS. C.C.C. Oxon 157, dating from the twelfth century, which is said to have formerly belonged to Worcester,¹ the text is continued to the year 1140 and ends abruptly with the word 'suspenditur.'

As the last annal is complete in MS. Dublin 512 and is then continued till the end of 1141, it points to MS. C.C.C. Oxon having been an imperfect scribe's copy, and points also to the Dublin manuscript which Howard collated for his edition being the more complete.

It seems almost certain that the continuation from 1131 to 1141 is by the same writer as the earlier portion of the chronicle. The verses in the annal for 1137 show distinctly that the entry in that year was the work of John of Worcester. The other manuscript at Trinity college, Dublin (602) ends oddly enough with the year 1137.

¹ I do not know on what authority this is. On the fly-leaf we have an entry, as my friend Mr. Gilson points out, which seems at least somewhat inconsistent with this supposed origin. It runs as follows: 'Memorandum quod frater Thomas Straynsham deliberavit [istum] librum fratri Thomae Powycke monacho majoris Malverniae. Et ipse deliberavit praedicto Thomae Straynsham librum vocatum Guido de bello Trojano anno Domini millesimo cccc mo octagesimo.' The manuscript was given to C.C.C. Oxford on 23rd July, 1618, by Henry Parry, a fellow. We thus trace it to Great Malvern, but no further. It would be strange, if the book was anything but a scribe's copy, that the great monastery of Worcester should have allowed such a treasure to leave its walls. I am favoured by Mr. Hamilton Thompson with some additional notes on this matter. He writes me: 'It is, perhaps, worth noticing

that Henry Parry, of C.C.C. Oxon, M.A. 1612-3, B.D. 1622, was a son of Henry Parry, bishop of Worcester 1610-16, so that there is a strong probability that he or his father, who died in 1616, acquired the manuscript at Worcester. Foster, *Alumni Oxon*, does not say that he was a fellow of Corpus: his father had been fellow in 1596.

'I do not think that there is any real inconsistency. Books were occasionally borrowed from monastic libraries on the delivery of a bond or pledge: bishop Alnwick of Lincoln borrowed several theological manuscripts from Garendon abbey in 1441, for which he deposited a written bond which still exists. Straynsham—the name = Strens-ham, near Pershore—was probably the librarian at Worcester, and lent the book for use at Great Malvern priory, the other book being deposited as security at Worcester meanwhile.'

It would seem probable that there were two editions of the chronicle, one made in 1131 and the other in 1141.

An argument has been used in favour of an earlier edition than that of 1131. This is based on the fact that in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Simeon of Durham the chronicle we are discussing was largely abstracted in its very words and that this borrowing entirely ceases with the year 1119, which year it will be remembered was two years after the death of Florence of Worcester. This is quite true, but I think it admits of explanation. Simeon in this part of his narrative had two authorities at least before him, namely John of Worcester's chronicle and Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*. He uses them alternately in the year 1118 and it is only in 1119 that he abandons the former in favour of the latter. Whether this was so or not—it is possible that the first draft of John's work may have been written earlier than any date for which we have positive evidence—it would seem that the whole compilation was his work and that it was he who after the conquest first wrote out a chronicle in Latin for the use of the monks at Worcester, many of whom doubtless would not know the English speech in the latter part of the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is plain also that no part of the compilation could have been made before the publication of the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, which ends in the year 1087, and which is almost entirely incorporated in the work of J. W. the incorporated matter beginning with the very beginning of the latter.

The C.C.C. MS. at Oxford was doubtless a Worcester manuscript, but it was certainly not the original one nor had it a claim to be the best. Mr. Hardy says in his catalogue that it wanted several portions of the text which have been afterwards inserted in the margin, some in a later hand. It is more likely a copy by some careless scribe. It would in fact seem that the original copy was destroyed in one of the fires which desolated the place, and that a copy was afterwards obtained from some other monastery; which was not a difficult matter, for the work was popular and each of the big monasteries seems to have had a copy.

Let us now turn to the origin of the text. As we have

seen, it was a compilation, the main portion of it being an almost verbatim copy from Marianus Scotus, in which materials from various sources were incorporated, lives of saints and other biographies, charters, obits from different churches, etc. etc. But the principal element after Marianus was the chronicle. As we have seen there is no ground for supposing that either MS. E or its mother EE was consulted by the compiler. The former was written too late to be thus used and such small entries as occur in it after the years 1121 and are similar to others in J. W. are often so different in details that they point to some common source rather than any derivation of one from the other. The part of E before 1121 which we have called EE, and which we have compared paragraph by paragraph with our text, has been shown to be quite independent of it. The same is true of F, which is largely an echo of E. With A and B also J. W. has very slight ties. The first one is in the year 917 where the two works have five clauses in common with hardly a variant. These are dated rightly in J. W. in 917, 918, 919, 920 and 921. In MS. A these years are all three years in advance in date, 920-924, which seems to exclude the possibility of J. W. having taken them from MS. A. They may have been copied from some original now lost.

As J. W. has the right dates, this may have been a northern type of manuscript, but on the other hand in some places where J. W. is a blank, like MSS. B and C of the chronicle, A has got annals not in J. W. which would make it appear that the entries above mentioned were sent from Canterbury by some monks there. The obit of bishop Frythestan and the name of his successor in J. W. in 932 only occurs elsewhere in MSS. A and F in 931; likewise the appointment of St. Alphege as bishop in 935 in J. W. and 934 in A, and the death of Alphege in 951 both in J. W. and MS. A. In all the other manuscripts the chronicle is silent.

The only copies of the chronicle which have a real relationship with J. W. are MS. C, the Abingdon copy, and MS. D, the so-called Worcester copy. MS. C, where the two are on common ground, are very close together. MS. D has also a close relationship and a good deal more special matter in common than the other manuscripts,

but it is plain nevertheless that J. W. has not derived his translation from this manuscript.

Mr. Plummer has shown, and we shall see in the next paper dealing more particularly with MS. D, that this copy of the chronicle does not deserve the eulogies which it has received. It is in fact full of blunders. There is a long lacuna in its middle: it is mutilated at the end and is only a scribe's copy. I quite agree with Mr. Plummer that it has no claims to be either an original copy or to be the official copy of the chronicle written at the great cathedral priory of Worcester. That copy is no longer existing. It probably perished in the catastrophe which overtook Worcester betimes. I hold that that copy, the official copy, is represented not so much by MS. D, which it no doubt resembled in having been written in the vernacular, but by J. W. which thus becomes the most important guide to the Worcester annals.

From the year 1006 we have in D a number of entries which grow more numerous as we move on and relate largely to the doings in Mercia and to Danish and also to Scotch affairs. These no doubt are directly traceable to Wulfstan, whose intimate connexion with English affairs from the time of Cnut makes him an excellent witness and give a special authority to the narrative of J. W. at this period. We especially find these entries in 1005-1007, a short sentence about the Danes in 1009, part of 1014, a large part of 1016, almost all 1017, a part of 1020 and 1027, part of 1029. The whole of the long annal in 1031 about the doings of the Danes, part of 1036, 1038, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1054, 1055, 1057; 1065.

In the year 1058 J. W. has a notice of considerable interest, namely, the adoption of the monastic life at Worcester by Wulfstan, a great scholar and statesman, who raised the monastery to a position of great distinction, and who, as Orderic tells us, was ultimately responsible for the origin of the work we are discussing. Under the year 1062, J. W. tells us that in that year Wulfstan became bishop of Worcester, and the Worcester annals, if we are right, making their later entries the chief substratum of his work, begin very soon to feel his influence. This first becomes noticeable in 1065 and continues to the end of

the work which, although having certain portions in common with C and D, has a much larger proportion of original matter not found in those chronicles which close respectively in 1066 and 1078. J. W. also continues to use the chronicle of Marianus Scotus till it closes in 1085, but we may take it that from 1078 onwards J. W. is entirely an original authority compiled at Worcester. How much of it came from the dictation of Wulfstan we do not know, but we must not forget that he was not the only considerable literary personage in the abbey in his time. One of them was his biographer Coleman. He was for fifteen years his chaplain and signs a charter as his chancellor in 1089, which is printed in the *Monasticon*. By Wulfstan's interest Coleman became prior of Westbury. He died on 4th October, 1113.¹ William of Malmesbury refers to him in his own preface to his life of Wulfstan in these words: 'Columannus monachus vester, vir nec scientiae imperitus nec sermone patrio infacetus. Scripsit enim Anglice, ne gestorum avolaret memoria, vitam ejusdem patris; si attendas ad sensum, lepore gravi; si ad literam, simplicitate rudi. Dignus cui fides non derogetur in aliquo; quippe qui noverit intime mores magistri, ut discipulus, et religionem, ut quindecim annis capellanus.'²

In reporting the details of Wulfstan's ascetic life Malmesbury says: 'Hoc se Colemannus ab Hemmingo subpriori didicisse asseverat, qui ab ipso sancto postmodum episcopo ea se audisse memoravit.' The reference to his having written in English and not in Latin is interesting. It points to the local annals having been kept in the old language, which no doubt continued to be the ordinary speech in old monasteries like Worcester and Peterborough. It is notable that on the day he died J. W. (who gives us his obit) says there also died there Thomas, prior of Worcester, and he couples them in the phrase 'ecclesiae nobiles coenobitae.' This Thomas was also a notable person. He was called Hemming and compiled at the instance of bishop Wulfstan a chartulary of the abbey of Worcester which in addition to the charters also contains some pieces of his own writing, including a short life of

¹ See Hardy, *Cat. ii*, 119-120.

² Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 242.

the bishop which is printed by Wharton.¹ It is plain, therefore, that in the eleventh century Worcester contained a group of writers well acquainted with the old English tongue as well as Latin and was unrivalled as a school of learning in England, and the chronicle which I have tried to analyse is a very notable proof of the fact.

¹See T. Wright, *Biogr. Britt.* ii, 47.